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SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIAN WORSHIP

"There is an inward reasonable, and there is a solemn outward serviceable worship belonging unto God. Of the former kind are all manner virtuous duties that each man in reason and conscience to Godward oweth. Solemn and serviceable worship we name for distinction's sake, whatsoever belongeth to the Church or public society of God by way of external adoration. It is the later of these two whereupon our present question groweth." — Hooker's 'Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity,' book v. chap. iv. 3.

THE

# PUBLIC WORSHIP

OF

# PRESBYTERIAN SCOTLAND

*HISTORICALLY TREATED*

The Fourteenth Series of the Cunningham Lectures

BY

CHARLES GREIG M'CRIE

MINISTER AT AYR

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
MDCCCXCII

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TO

ALEXANDER F. MITCHELL, D.D., LL.D.

PROFESSOR OF CHURCH HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS,

IN ADMIRATION OF

VALUABLE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LITERATURE

OF THE ECCLESIA SCOTTICANA,

AND IN GRATITUDE FOR MANY ACTS OF KINDNESS,

THIS VOLUME

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.

# PREFACE.

On the foregoing title-page I have endeavoured to set forth concisely the scope and the limitations of the following work. As there stated, the subject treated is not that of the principles of divine service in general, neither is it that of all the forms of public worship which have been or are at present observed in Scotland. All I have undertaken to give is a statement of the legislation and a description of the service-books which have determined the usage and practice of Scotland when free to carry out her chosen and beloved Presbyterian polity and ritual.

I have not found it possible to do justice to this definite and restricted field without occasionally travelling into regions beyond. But whenever I have passed outside national Presbyterial law and usage, it is to be understood that I make no claim for exhaustive treatment of what the exigency of my subject required me there to examine. With such matters I have dealt only to the extent it seemed to

me to have bearing more or less direct upon my special province.

Again, the treatment of the subject thus defined is purely historical. While a Presbyterian alike by ancestral antecedents and independent study, I have not consciously written in a dogmatic spirit or a polemic interest. I hold no brief for any side, I have received instructions from no party. And so the following pages will be searched in vain for a discussion of such questions as are in debate between Episcopalian and Presbyterian controversialists, or for a deliverance upon those details regarding which Presbyterians are at variance among themselves. Material bearing upon the settlement of controverted topics will, it is believed, be found at certain stages of this historical inquiry; but the writer will neither be surprised nor disappointed should upholders of opposite schools find confirmation of opposing views in what is here submitted to their judgment.

To prepare, first for delivery, and thereafter for publication, an historical survey of this nature within a limited space of time, the greater part of which has been spent at a distance from professional libraries, and while discharging all the functions of the ministry in a county town, has proved a somewhat arduous undertaking. With all my anxiety to observe the fundamental requirements of narrative writing, I do not suppose there has been for me absolute immunity from errors of judgment or from inaccuracies of statement; but I cherish the hope that few of either the former or the latter will be met with, and if any be observed, that they are such

as not substantially to affect the representation that has been given whether of facts or writings mentioned in the course of the following history.

A vague reference has sent many a reader upon a vain quest, with loss of time, if not also of patience, as the only result. A statement simply of title and page—especially in the case of authors whose works have passed through many editions—may serve to tantalise but will fail to satisfy the verifying student of history. I have therefore done my utmost to render the references given in the footnotes as serviceable as possible, particularising not only chapter, page, and section, but also the edition to which I have had access.[1]

In the Appendix will be found matter which could not have been introduced at an earlier stage without overburdening the text or the footnotes, but which I anticipate will interest students of ritual, many of whom may not find the works from which the extracts are taken within their reach.

As the last sheets of this work were passing through the press, there appeared in the journals of the day an account of the formation of a new Church of Scotland Society. In the columns of a newspaper

[1] In this connection I may be permitted to refer to my honoured grandfather's 'Life of Knox.' In all the editions of that work, including the seventh or uniform edition of 1855, the references to Knox's standard work are simply of this nature—"Knox, Historie, pp. 84, 85." The edition of the Reformer's 'Historie of the Reformatioun of Religioun within the Realm of Scotland,' which Dr M'Crie made use of, is the folio one of 1732 printed from the Glasgow University manuscript, with life by Mr Matthew Crawfurd. Manifestly the edition to which all references ought *now* to be made is that of Dr David Laing, forming vols. i. and ii. of Knox's Works.

of largest circulation, the statement appeared under the heading, "Formation of a High Church Party in Scotland," and the association is described as "a High Church Society in connection with the Church of Scotland." Having regard both to the auspices under which the movement comes before the public, and to the influence which it is fitted to exert upon the life and worship of the Church within whose pale that movement has originated, I have given at the close of the volume a brief statement of the formation and constitution of "The Scottish Church Society."

It only remains for me to make grateful and cordial acknowledgment of help received. To no one have I applied for material or direction without receiving a ready response. The Rev. Dr Bannerman, Perth; the Rev. John Boyd, M.A., Skelmorlie; Mr D. Hay Fleming, St Andrews; Mr J. T. Gibb, Edinburgh; the Rev. John Kerr, M.A., Dirleton; Professor Laidlaw, D.D., Edinburgh; the Rev. Dr Livingston, Stair; Professor Mitchell, D.D., St Andrews; the Rev. Pearson Macadam Muir, Morningside; the Rev. David Somerville, M.A., Edinburgh; the Rev. Dr Sprott, North Berwick; the Rev. Dr Robert Steel, Australia; Mr James Thin, Edinburgh, — these are coadjutors and correspondents whose names it is a personal gratification to be able to associate with various stages of my undertaking. To two friends of long standing and tried worth I am under a very special debt of gratitude. The Rev. James Kennedy, B.D., has allowed me to draw without stint alike upon his extensive bibliographical knowledge and upon the

literary treasures under his charge as Acting Librarian of the New College, Edinburgh; and the Rev. Alexander Robertson, Glasgow, has given me the benefit of his accurate scholarship and intimate acquaintance with both the highways and the by-paths of Scottish Ecclesiastical History, subjecting the following sheets to a most painstaking revision as they were passing through the press.

C. G. M'CRIE.

FREE CHURCH MANSE, AYR,
*5th November* 1892.

# CONTENTS.

## PERIOD I.

### CELTIC AND ANGLO-ROMAN WORSHIP.

Presbyterianism essentially a system of Church government, but a distinct life, theology, and ritual always associated with it—Presbyterian worship not dominant in Scotland till sixteenth century—Some acquaintance with what preceded desirable—Druidism—Roman occupation of Caledonia—Ninian in the south of Scotland—Columba among the Picts—Kentigern or Mungo in Clydesdale became Bishop of "Glesgu"—Aidan, Bishop of Northumbria, Apostle of the Angles—Cudberct a prior at Melrose, thereafter Bishop of Lindisfarne—Worship introduced by these men monastic in type—The Book of Deer—Daily service—Days either private or festival—Hours of prayer—Ritual or festival days—Baptism, no evidence that Eucharist administered to children after baptism—Adamnan's description of services at death of Columba—The Culdees—The Keledei of St Andrews—Litanies of the Culdees of Dunkeld—Queen Margaret, a devout Romanist, scene at her deathbed, and her conferences with Celtic clergy, suppression by her of "barbarous rites" in Scotland—Calendars, earliest Directories for public worship—Calendar of the Drummond Missal—Calendar of Herdmanston Missal—Calendar of Culross, also a Celtic one unnamed—Adoration of Virgin Mary, stages of, traceable in early calendars—The Missal, that of Sarum—Edward I. and Sarum usages, Father Innes upon, Sarum order used in reign of James IV.—Ash-Wednesday service—The Breviary—Elphinstone's Aberdeen Breviary — Lections and prayers in Aberdeen Breviary founded upon the lives and miracles of Columba, Serf, Baldred—Wearisome and deadening influence of the Latin service in mediæval Church well expressed by Tennyson's "Northern Farmer," . . . . . Page 1

## PERIOD II.

### RITUAL REVISION.

Government of Scottish Church in hands of Provincial Councils from 1225 to 1559—Councils of 1549, 1550, 1552—Hamilton's Catechism—Baptismal series in—Council of 1558-59—That of 1560 summoned but never met—Revised Breviary of Quignon in 1535—Ritual Reform of Hermann, his baptismal service—The Primers published in England, Marshall's, Hilsey's, and that of Henry VIII.—First English Prayer-Book in 1549—Arrival in England of Knox same year, his views regarding service and sacrament given effect to at St Andrews, his practice at Berwick and Newcastle, when Chaplain of Edward VI. preached at Windsor upon right "gesture" for communicating, his memorial to Privy Council, his responsibility for the black rubric in Communion Office of Church of England—Continental and English refugees at Frankfort—Knox becomes one of the pastors of English congregation—Various drafts of service-book—Frankfort draft of Book of Common Order—Troubles of Frankfort—Knox returns to Geneva—Calvin's Order of Geneva, his views on public worship and on the state of matters in England and at Frankfort, gathered from his letters to Regent Seymour, to Edward VI., and to the British exiles at Frankfort—The historic value of Calvinism—"Calvinism saved Europe," . . . . Page 50

## PERIOD III.

### THE BOOK OF COMMON ORDER.

Manifestoes of Protestants in middle of sixteenth century—The "Common Band" of 1557—Two resolutions bearing on divine service—"The order of the Book of Common Prayers" refers to Anglican Prayer-Book, limitation of use—Scottish Parliament of 1560—First Scottish Confession of Faith—First Book of Discipline—Form and order for election and ordination of superintendents, elders, and deacons—The Frankfort draft of Book of Common Order referred to in Book of Discipline as "The Order of Geneva," "our Book of Common Order," &c.—'The Form of Prayers,' &c., published in 1565—"Knox's Liturgy," misleading description of—Principle underlying the structure of the Scottish Book of Common Order—Number and ministration of the Sacraments—The Common Prayers—Congregational Praise, references to singing in Book of Geneva and Book of Common Order—Metrical contents of the latter contain complete

Psalter but nothing else—Stewart's "Sonnet to the Church of Scotland"—Order and doctrine of the General Fast—Form for restoration of penitents and excommunication of impenitents, references in these to prayer and praise—Carswell's translation of the Book of Common Order into Gaelic—"The manner of blessing a ship on going to sea"—Survival of popish forms of worship—Also of Anglican service as found in "The Form and Manner of Burial used in the Kirk of Montrose"—Bassandyne the printer taking liberties—Song "Welcum Fortune" inserted by him in Book of Common Order, published in 1568, traced to Wedderburn's "Gude and Godlie Ballates"—Editions of the Book of Common Order—That of 1575 containing metrical pieces additional to the Psalter and a "conclusion"—That of 1595 containing 32 "Conclusions" and 149 collects on the Psalms—Troubles in Scotland from 1603 to 1688—Action of Assembly in 1601 as to various revisions—Hart's edition of the Book of Common Order in 1616 containing James Melville's prosaic Song of Moses—First endeavour of King James to Anglicise the Scottish Church through prelatic government—Communion to be celebrated on Easter Day, 1614—Assembly of 1616 at Aberdeen—"Howatt's Form of Prayer"—The Five Articles of Perth—The new "Paraphrase" or Psalter of King James and Sir William Alexander of Menstrie—Accession of Charles I. brought no change of policy—Petition of ministers against Perth Articles refused—Kneeling at Communion most offensive in Scotland, although the devotional posture from 1569—The policy of "Thorough"—The Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical published in 1636, extracts from—"Laud's Liturgy," compilation of, attempted use of on July 23, 1637, the Erastian Proclamation, the Preface, quotation in Preface from Knox's 'History of the Reformation'—Public worship little affected by obtruded Episcopacy during reigns of James VI. and Charles I.—The year 1635 that in which most perfect metrical psalmody published—Descriptions of Scottish worship during period surveyed taken from the writings of Bishop Cowper of Galloway, Sir William Brereton of Cheshire, and Alexander Henderson, Page 96

## PERIOD IV.

### THE WESTMINSTER DIRECTORY.

Era of Second Reformation inaugurated by Glasgow Assembly of 1638—Condemnation of six Assemblies, the five Articles of Perth, the Book of Canons, and Laud's Prayer-Book—Deposition and excommunication of the prelates—Commencement of Long Parliament in 1640—Scottish Commissioners in London express a desire for a Directory—Communications between ministers in England and

Scotland — Movement by Henderson in 1641 in direction of a Directory and a Platform of Government—Proposal in Assembly of 1641 for a National Synod—Order of English House of Commons calling one, April 1642—First meeting on 1st July 1643—Meeting of Scottish General Assembly in August—Private conference about "Novations"—Origin and nature of these—Action in Scotland for preparation of a Directory—Appointment of Scottish Commissioners to Westminster Assembly—Taking of Solemn League and Covenant by members of English Parliament, Anglican Divines, and Scottish Commissioners—Revision of Thirty-nine Articles—Labours of Committee engaged upon the Directory, completed on 27th December 1644—Ordinance of Parliament setting aside the Book of Common Prayer—Order for printing the Directory issued in March 1645—Action in Scotland with reference to the Directory—Act of Assembly on 3d February 1644-45 for establishing and putting in execution—The declaratory statement—Committee of Estates and Commission of Assembly sanction printing and publishing of Scottish edition—Title of the book — Preface—Fourteen sections of—Elements in divine service : (1) Prayer—(2) Scripture reading—Office of Reader not recognised, legally abolished in 1581, but not discontinued, Patrick Henderson Reader in St Giles' in 1637, James Paterson, Aberdeen, last Reader in Scotland—(3) Praise, section "of singing of Psalms," provision for reading the line "for the present," an English innovation distasteful to Scottish Commissioners—Westminster divines and the Doxology—Baillie's troubles with yeomen refusing to sing it at Kilwinning—Seven western ministers and the three "nocent ceremonies"—Attitude of Westminster Assembly regarding the practices of offering the Lord's Prayer, praying privately in the pulpit, and singing the Doxology — Decision of General Assembly — Ray the naturalist heard Doxology sung in parish church of Dunbar in 1661, testimony of Edward of Murroes as to use of, in 1683, Patrick Simson's 'Spiritual Songs' of 1685 contained some, collection of paraphrases and hymns in 1781 contains one—A new metrical version of the Psalms included in parliamentary programme of Westminster documents—Version of Francis Rouse recommended by Parliament, approved of by Westminster Assembly, Scottish Commissioners agreeable to a new version, preference of Baillie for version of Sir W. Mure of Rowallan—English version carefully examined and considerably altered in Scotland, authorised toward close of 1649—Scottish edition of 1650 distinct from English one of 1646—Holland's opinion that Kirk of Scotland strongly indisposed to innovate in psalmody confirmed by subsequent history of metrical version of 1650—State of matters in Scotland during Protectorate—Lay preaching—Silencing of General Assembly—Public worship not materially affected—Action of Edinburgh ministers in 1650 about

morning and evening week-day prayers—Acts of Assembly in 1652, 1654, 1656—Reintroduction at Leith of Scripture reading by the "Common Reader" in 1658—Troubles in Scotland during reigns of Charles II. and James VII.—Act Rescissory—Act concerning religion and Church government—Subversion of Presbyterianism—Consecration of Scottish bishops at Westminster and Holyrood—Public worship in parish churches from Restoration to Revolution—Walter Scott's blunder in 'Old Mortality' exposed by Dr M'Crie—Efforts to Anglicise Scottish worship by Parliament in 1661—Action of Episcopal Synods of St Andrews, Aberdeen, and Dunblane—Ray's description of worship in Dumfries—Morer's account—Condemnation of Scottish burial usages—Absence of religious services at funerals till end of seventeenth century—Incident in life of Rowland Hill—Open-air services of Covenanters, lecturing or prefacing, singing, dispensing Sacraments—Instances of—Description of a Covenanting Communion at East Nisbet on banks of Whitadder, . . Page 170

## PERIOD V.

### REVOLUTION—UNION—DECADENCE.

Declaration of Prince of Orange in 1688, denouncing Popery—Address to him from people of Scotland condemning Prelacy—Meeting of Estates in Scotland—Claim of right and offer of crown to William and Mary—James VII. "forefaulted" right to the throne—First Parliament of William and Mary held at Edinburgh 1690—Prelacy abolished—Confession of Faith ratified, also Presbyterian Church government—No mention of the Directory, current explanation—First General Assembly after Revolution, October 1690—"Moderation" inculcated and professed, Acts passed by—"Rabbling" of two Episcopalian clergymen at Dumfries—Opposition to re-establishment of Presbyterianism at Aberdeen—Dr Robert Lee's extracts from Session records of Banchory-Devenick examined, found not to bear out his inference—The phrase "Uniformity of worship" traced—Act of Assembly 1649—The Barrier Act, stages of, in 1639, 1641, 1695, 1697—Accession of Queen Anne in 1702—Endeavours of Scottish Episcopalians to secure toleration—Act of Assembly in 1707 against "Innovations," historical reference explained—Union negotiations in 1705—Church of Scotland safeguarded—Action of Commission of Assembly—Conclusion of negotiations in 1707—Catholic statement regarding Church of Scotland by Archbishop of Canterbury in House of Lords—Attitude of Scottish ecclesiastics at first hostile to incorporating Union, majority in course of time became favourable—Case of Rev. James Greenshields stated—Passing of Toleration Act in 1712

opposed by Church of Scotland, condemnation by some of that Church because of opposition and also because of action in Greenshields' case, considerations to be kept in view—Eighteenth century ecclesiastical legislation bearing on public worship—Movement in direction of enlarged psalmody, labours of Boyd, Lourie, and Adamson—Action in 1706—Patrick Simson's 'Scripture Songs,' unsuccessful endeavours to interest the Church in them—The matter before Church courts from 1741 to 1745, when first edition of Paraphrases appeared—Second edition in 1781, use of sanctioned "in the meantime," description of contents, criticism of by "Rabbi" Duncan—The five hymns subjoined—Friction in South Leith regarding introduction—Unfavourable judgment regarding the collection by Dr Martin of Monimail—Members of Paraphrase Committee and contributors, names of some associated with Moderatism—Dr Witherspoon, his career, his opposition to the Moderates, his 'Ecclesiastical Characteristics,' extracts from bearing upon heresy, the Confession of Faith, and divine service—Evangelical men within the Church of Scotland during the decadence, Maclaurin, John Erskine, Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, Currie, Willison, Riccaltoun—The Seceders did not secede from the Church of Scotland, only from "the present prevailing party"—Ralph Erskine, his song "Thus think, and smoke tobacco," his "Gospel Canticles," "Gospel Sonnets," "Scripture Songs"—Associate Synod recommend Erskine to translate all the songs of Scripture into metre—Anti-Burgher Seceders, their narrative and testimony, recognised propriety of singing other Scripture songs than Psalms of David—Union in 1820, testimony of the united body in 1827 admits the use of Scripture Doxologies and the Lord's Prayer—Union in 1827, that of Original Seceders, opposed to the use of both paraphrases and hymns—The Relief Church of 1762, never opposed to an enlarged psalmody, in 1794 a selection of hymns compiled by a Relief Minister recommended by the Synod to be used in public praise—Estimate of the services of the Seceders to the cause of evangelical religion—Tribute to their worth by Principal Rainy, . . . . . Page 241

## PERIOD VI.

### THE MODERN RENAISSANCE.

Divine service in Scotland at close of eighteenth century—Description of, by Professor Story—Advantage taken of prevailing carelessness and irreverence, by an Episcopalian writer—Dr James Beattie of Aberdeen drew attention to state of matters and suggested improvements—Unsuccessful attempt made by congregation of St Andrew's,

Glasgow, to introduce instrumental music in 1807—Writings of Dr Ritchie, Dr Porteous, and Dr R. S. Candlish, in connection therewith—Dr Andrew Thomson of Edinburgh—His work as a reformer of Church praise—Assistance rendered by Mr R. A. Smith—Testimony to improvement in 1831 from Journal of Arnold of Rugby—Dr Andrew Thomson's views regarding use of Lord's Prayer, offensive to some—Ten years before and after the Disruption—Dr Robert Lee, his qualifications to be pioneer in ritual reform, and his defects, entered upon a series of alterations in public worship in 1857, kneeling at prayer, standing at singing, reading of prayers, harmonium introduced in 1863 and organ in 1865, his book upon 'The Reform of the Church in Worship'—The conduct of worship in Old Greyfriars brought before Assembly in 1859, 1864, 1865, 1866, and 1867—Indefinite postponement of case in consequence of Dr Lee's illness and death—Dr Lee's attitude with reference to use of hymns a conservative one—Proposals for issuing hymn-book before the Church of Scotland from beginning of nineteenth century—Progress of movement in 1811, 1814, 1821, 1854, 1860—Authoritative use of hymns in Church of Scotland dates from 1861—Nineteenth-century action in Secession Church as to use of hymns—United Secession Church took action in 1842, large collection made and printed but never published—Union of the Associate and Relief Churches in 1847—Synod of United Presbyterian Church of Scotland authorised issue of hymn-book in 1851, what virtually a new book under title of 'The Presbyterian Hymnal' in 1876—Action in matter of hymns taken by the Free Church of Scotland in 1866, Assembly of 1872 "allow" the public use of a collection, a larger one in 1878—Use of instrumental music unknown in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation till middle of present century—No formal sanctioning of, but liberty to use secured by Act of Assembly in 1866—Action in same direction taken by United Presbyterian Church in 1872—The Free Church entered upon discussion of the subject in 1882, decided in 1883 that nothing in the Word of God or in the constitution and laws of this Church to preclude the use of instrumental music in public worship as an aid to vocal praise—Formation of "The Church Service Society" in 1865, object of the Society, subsequent history of, publication of 'Euchologion, or Book of Prayers,' afterwards called 'A Book of Common Order,' the Society still a private though not a secret society—"The Devotional Service Association" in connection with the United Presbyterian Church, founded in 1882, objects and methods of—"The Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society" formed in 1886, constitution and operations of—"Public Worship Association" in connection with the Free Church of Scotland, constituted in 1891, points on which it is believed there is general agreement among members, points on which some difference

of opinion, but felt to be important for conference and discussion—Closing remarks—Presbyterian public worship non-liturgical and non-sacramentarian in essence and history—Matters of detail subordinate and secondary ought not to be elevated to rank of things essential and primary—Security for purity of worship to be found in adherence to teaching of Westminster Confession of Faith regarding divine service—That teaching adduced from three several chapters of the Confession, . . . . . Page 310

## APPENDIX.

PAGE

A. Scottish Service for Visitation and Communion of the Sick in twelfth century, . . . . . 361

B. Latin Litany used by the Culdees of Dunkeld in fifteenth century, . . . . . 362

C. Rubrics and Ritual for dedication of Churches in thirteenth century, with classified list of Scottish Churches and Chapels dedicated after the 'Pontificale Ecclesiæ S. Andreæ,' . . . . . 364

D. Eight Scottish Prayers of the sixteenth century, founded on the Lord's Prayer, . . . . . 368

E. The Frankfort draft of the Book of Common Order, . 373

F. A Prayer printed in the sixteenth century, to be used in the Highlands before sermon, . . . . . 378

G. A Scottish Burial Service of the sixteenth century, . 379

H. The Love-song printed in a Scottish Psalter, condemned by the General Assembly in 1568, . . . . . 385

I. Thirty-four Scottish Doxologies taken from Metrical Psalter of 1595, . . . . . 386

K. One hundred and forty-nine Scottish Collects on the Psalms, taken from the same, . . . . . 390

L. Bidding Prayers, history and specimens of, . . 422

M. Chronological notes on the offices of Reader and Exhorter in the Church of Scotland, . . . . . 428

PAGE

N. English Presbyterian, Australian, and Tasmanian revisions and adaptations of Westminister Directory, . . 435

O. The Communion Office of the Westminister Directory, theologically and historically considered; with statements from Rutherfurd's writings bearing upon administration of the Sacrament, and upon the reading of prayers, . 441

P. Formation and Constitution of "The Scottish Church Society," . . . . . 450

INDEX, . . . . . 453

THE

# PUBLIC WORSHIP OF PRESBYTERIAN SCOTLAND.

## PERIOD I.

### CELTIC AND ANGLO-ROMAN WORSHIP.

PRESBYTERIANISM is essentially a system of Church polity, having government by presbyters for its distinguishing feature. It differs from Episcopacy in refusing to acknowledge any such governing power in the hands of prelates or diocesan bishops as would constitute them an order in succession to the apostleship, separate from and superior to presbyters; it is distinct from Independency, which lodges the government of the Church in the individual congregation. According to Presbyterian rule, all ecclesiastical authority is lodged in the presbyters as the genuine bishops of the New Testament, with whom is the true apostolic succession, the presbyters being associated, for purposes ministerial or administrative, in congregational Sessions, classical Presbyteries, provincial Synods, and general Assemblies.

While, however, Presbyterianism is essentially a form of

government, historically it is a good deal more than that. For there has come to be associated with it Christian life of a particular type, the confessional theology of a pronounced school, and a well-defined ritual of divine service.

It is with the last-named concomitant or characteristic of Presbyterianism—that of worship—that we are concerned in this historical inquiry; and our range of treatment is limited to tracing the development of public worship in that country which, from the dawn of the Protestant era until now, in spite of repeated attempts to dictate and coerce, to subvert and innovate, has asserted herself Presbyterian in polity, in theology, and in ritual.

Not until, in the sixteenth century, the great European movement of reform all along the lines of church organisation had reached our shores, and our reformers, refusing to acknowledge the authority of papal Rome, of ante-Nicene fathers, and even of the sub-apostolic age, pressed back to Christ and the New Testament, did Presbyterian ritual dominate the worship of Scotland.

If we take no account of forms of worship which prevailed in Scotland previous to the Reformation in 1560, we might make the middle of the sixteenth century our point of departure in this endeavour to trace the development of New Testament worship in the legislation and practice of our country. It will, however, materially aid us in forming an adequate estimate both of what had to be done and of what was actually accomplished, if we start with a clear and accurate conception of the ritual followed in Scotland prior to the date when divine service was reconstructed with an avowed recognition of the grand Presbyterian principle that "the acceptable way of worshipping God is instituted by Himself, and so limited by His own revealed will that He may not be worshipped according to any way not prescribed in the Holy Scripture."

In this introductory chapter, therefore, it will be our aim to

state briefly but concisely what has come down to the present day bearing upon the substance and the forms of worship in Scotland during the Celtic and medieval periods of her history.

Seeking to penetrate into an age anterior to the invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar, fifty-five years before the Christian era, we come upon the Druidic rites of our pagan forefathers. At one time it seemed as if a good deal were known about the sacrifices, animal and human, the priestly orders and vestments, the festivals and names of the Divine Being, which obtained among the Druids of Caledonia or Alban. But under the operation of destructive historic criticism and the influence of the modern historical temper, this supposed knowledge shows a tendency to diminish rather than to increase in volume. Disappointed, it may even be disgusted, to find how few grains of verifiable information can be extracted from the rubbish-heaps of fable and fine writing that have gathered round the very name of Druid, some modern scholars have been led to question whether such a thing as Druidism ever existed in the British Isles.[1]

Avoiding the two extremes of over-credulity and over-scepticism, a balanced estimate of this form of northern Pictish paganism will lead us to regard it as a sort of fetichism which peopled all the objects of nature with malignant beings, to whose agency its phenomena were attributed, the Druids being medicine-men, priests, and teachers, who, as *Magi* and *Druadh*, exercised great influence among the people, from a belief that they were able to practise a

[1] So Dr John Stuart in 'Sculptured Stones of Scotland' (appendix to preface), and Dr J. H. Burton in article in 'Edinburgh Review,' July 1863, and 'The History of Scotland,' vol. i. chap. vi., "Heathendom," pp. 209-217, second edition. Skene, while crediting Burton with being the first "to expose the utterly fictitious basis on which the popular conception of the so-called Druidical religion rests," considers "he undoubtedly carries his scepticism too far, when he seems disposed to deny the existence among the pre-Christian inhabitants of Scotland and Ireland of a class of persons termed Druids."—'Celtic Scotland,' vol. ii. bk. ii. chap. iii. p. 119, n. 73.

species of magic or witchcraft, or to injure those to whom they were opposed.[2]

From the invasion of Julius Cæsar down to the year of grace 410, Scotland formed a province of the Roman Empire. That the dominion of imperial Rome, extending over so many centuries of time, powerfully influenced the religious as well as the secular and social condition of Britain, must go without saying. Discounting such legends as credit the apostles Paul or Peter with being the founders of the British Church, as also the rhetorical statements of Tertullian and Origen about the universal prevalence of the Christian faith in the first century, we are warranted in affirming that the religion of the Cross made its way during the Roman occupation through the province of Britain, and that as early as the second century a Christian Church had obtained a place among the institutions of the country. The ruined church of Reculver in Kent, the early ecclesiastical buildings of Canterbury, the Chi Rho monogram, the remains of Christian settlements in Skye, Orkney, and the Gairloch Islands, belonging to the earliest types of ecclesiastical structures—such treasure-trove of the archæologist go far to prove that buildings of undoubted Roman origin were used as places of Christian worship previous to the departure of the Romans in 410. For us, however, the period is a blank, no records existing to tell the nature of the worship of the Romano-

[2] W. F. Skene, 'Celtic Scotland,' *ut sup.*, p. 118. To much the same effect is the judgment of Rhys, Professor of Celtic in the University of Oxford. "One," writes this authority, "may sum up the impressions of ancient authors as to the Druids by describing them as magicians who were medicine-men, priests, and teachers of the young. This applies more especially to Gaul, but their characteristics appear to have been much the same in Ireland."—'Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom:' The Hibbert Lectures, 1886. Students of pre-Christian religions will do well to acquaint themselves with 'The Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion.' By J. G. Frazer, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co., 1890,—the work of a Scottish student, alike fascinating and informing, no matter what opinions may be entertained regarding the particular theory unfolded and advocated.

British Church.[3] Although the closing years of the Roman occupation were full of struggle and confusion—the barbarians on the north and the west assailing the imperial province—yet during that troublous time the Christian Church penetrated the district of country extending along the north shore of the Solway Firth.

The agent in this primitive Church extension movement was Ninian, whom Bede describes as "a most reverend bishop and holy man, of the nation of the Britons, regularly instructed at Rome in the faith and mysteries of the truth."[4] Whether Ninian's birthplace was in Cumberland, in Wales, or in Galloway—and claims have been put forward in favour of all three places—cannot now be determined; but that he was the son of a native Christian, and received his early education from the Church which existed in Britain, has never been gainsaid.[5] History and biography are also at one in representing Ninian as receiving the greater part of his theological

[3] See 'Scotland in Early Christians Times.' By Joseph Anderson, LL.D. 2 vols. (Being Rhind Lectures in Archæology for 1879 and 1880.) Edinburgh: David Douglas. Also, 'The Monumental History of the Early British Church.' By J. Romily Allen, F.S.A. (Scot.) S.P.C.K., 1889. Dr James Macdonald of Glasgow, one of the most accomplished of modern Scottish archæologists, contributed a valuable paper to the 'Transactions of the Glasgow Archæological Society,' 1891, on "Burghead as the Site of an Early Christian Church," in which he contends that a reservoir cut out of the solid rock is "almost beyond question an ancient sacred font or baptistery," and, as such, "the one such relic of the ancient Scottish Church that has come down to our times."

[4] "Namque ipsi australes Picti . . . fidem veritatis acceperant, predicante eis verbum Niniano Episcopo reverentissimo et sanctissimo viro de natione Bretonum, qui erat Rome regulariter fidem et misteria veritatis edoctus."—Bæda, 'Hist. Eccles.,' lib. iii. c. iv.

[5] The language of Aibred, Abbot of Rievaux, in his 'Vita Niniani Pictorum Australium Apostoli,' is explicit as to the country, but vague as to the particular locality: "In insula . . . Britannie . . . beatus Ninianus extitit oriundus; in ea, ut putatur, regione que in occiduis ipsius insule partibus ubi occeanus quasi brachium porrigens, ex utraque parte quasi duos angulos faciens, Scotorum nunc et Anglorum regna dividit constituta, usque novissima ad Anglorum tempora proprium habuisse regem, non solum hystoriarum fide, sed et quorundam quoque memoria comprobatur."—Cap. i., "The Historians of Scotland," vol. v. p. 140.

training at Rome, living and studying there from A.D. 370 to near the close of the fourth century. Becoming a favourite with his ecclesiastical superiors, and displaying remarkable proficiency in sacred studies, the young Briton was ultimately consecrated to the episcopal office by the Bishop of Rome, and sent back to his own land to convert those who had not received the Christian faith, and to correct the creed of as many as had heard the word of the Gospel from heretics.

On his way home the newly consecrated bishop turned aside to visit the city of Tours, desirous of intercourse with, and stimulus from, the widely known and highly esteemed St Martin. Having intimated to the Gallican dignitary that, as in faith, so in the way of building churches and constituting ecclesiastical offices, he purposed to follow the holy Roman Church, Ninian asked and obtained the services of masons to enable him to construct a stone edifice in Scotland after the Roman model.[6] So soon as he was settled in his Galloway district, the missionary bishop set about the building of his church of stone, or Candida Casa,[7] at Whithorn,[8]

[6] "Beatus Ninianus a sancto cementarios sibi dari postulavit, propositum sibi esse asserens, sicut sancte Romane Ecclesie fidem, ita et mores in construendis ecclesiis, *ecclesiasticisque officiis* constituendis imitari."—Ibid., p. 143.

[7] "Cujus sedem episcopatus Sancti Martini Episcopi nomine, et ecclesiam insignem, ubi ipse etiam corpore una cum pluribus sanctis requiescit, jam nunc Anglorum gens optinet. Qui locus ad provinciam Berniciorum pertinens vulgo vocatur ad Candidam Casam; eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Bretonibus more, fecit."—Bæda, 'Hist. Eccles.,' lib. iii. c. iv.

[8] "Elegit autem sibi sedem in loco qui nunc Witerna dicitur; qui locus super litus occeani situs, dum se ipsum mare longius porrigit ab oriente, occidente, atque meridie, ipso pelago clauditur a parte tantum aquilonali, via ingredi volentibus aperitur."—'Vita Niniani,' c. iii., "Fundatio Ecclesiæ de Whithorn." The question which Ailred's description of Whithorn has given rise to, Was the site of Ninian's Church where the ruins of the cathedral now are, or were they two miles distant southwards at the port called the Isle of Whithorn? is well treated by Bishop Forbes, and decided by him in favour of the former supposition; while Mr Muir, whom the bishop admits is "our best authority on Scottish medieval architecture," argues for the latter.—"Lives of St Ninian and St Kentigern" in 'The Historians of Scotland,' vol. v. Notes to the Life of St Ninian, Note M., p. 268.

dedicated to St Martin of Tours, tidings of whose death reached the founder while the edifice was nearing completion, which narrows the time within a range of four years between 397 and 401.

Whether, as an old Irish life of the saint affirms,[9] Ninian spent his closing years in Ireland, founding a church in Leinster, and whether he died in the year 432, is uncertain and unimportant. The facts of value are those already stated —facts which testify to the moulding influence exerted upon the apostle of the south of Scotland by the Churches of Italy and Gaul.

Once severed from the civilisation of the West and the culture of the European empire by the termination of the Roman dominion, the British Isles relapsed into paganism,— "seemed, as it were, to retire again into the recesses of that western ocean from which they had emerged in the reign of the Emperor Claudian; and a darkness which grew more profound as their isolated existence continued, settled down upon them, and shrouded their inhabitants from the eye of Europe till the spread of that great and paramount influence which succeeded to the dominion of the Roman Empire, and inherited its concentrating energy—the Christian Church—took Britain within its grasp, and the works of its monastic and clerical writers once more brought its fortunes within the sphere of history." [10]

That condition of isolation lasted for wellnigh two centuries —lasted till 563, when Columba, the apostle of Pictland, sailed with twelve disciples from Scotia or Ireland to Britain.

[9] For all our knowledge of this Irish life of Ninian, not now extant, we are indebted to Archbishop Ussher, who describes it in the addenda to his work, 'De Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Primordiis.' According to this biography Ninian is stated, "Hiberniam petiisse atque ibi impetrato a rege loco apto et amœno, Cluayn-coner dicto, cœnobium magnum constituisse, ibidemque post multos in Hibernia transactos annos obiisse traditur."—*Ut sup.*, General Introduction, vol. iv.

[10] Skene's 'Celtic Scotland,' vol. i. book i. chap. iii., "Britain after the Romans," p. 114.

Born in the wilds of Donegal, this epoch-making man spent his early life in his native country. In the forty-second year of his age, having been ordained a deacon and thereafter received into priests' orders, he crossed the sea and founded in Caledonia an ecclesiastical settlement, which formed a convenient centre for intercourse with the Scots already Christians, at least in name, and for mission work among the Picts, who were avowed pagans. Columba died on the island where for upwards of thirty years he had served God and sought the good of his fellow-men, an island one of the many names of which embalms his memory,—Ii-Cholum-Chille, or the Island of Columba's Cell, a corrupted form of which—Icolmkill—it still retains.[11] The influence of this Celtic-Scot, or Scoto-Celt, upon the worship as well as the faith of the people whom he won to the Christian religion, will come up for consideration afterwards; meanwhile we pass from him to another missionary saint of Celtic Scotland.

For Kentigern, better known, especially in the west of Scotland, by his Welsh name of affection, Munghu or Mungo—the mild or gentle dear one[12]—the legends of the saints claim royal parentage, and weave round his birth an unsavoury story, in which the son of a king of Cumbria and the daughter of a king of Laudonia are criminally implicated. In reality, nothing is known regarding either his parentage or

[11] All one can ever hope to know, if not all one may desire to know, regarding this "man of venerable life and blessed memory, the father and founder of monasteries" ('Vit. S. Columb.,' Sec. Præf.), is to be found in that classic work and splendid specimen of editing, 'Life of Saint Columba, Founder of Hy. Written by Adamnan, ninth Abbot of that Monastery.' Edited by William Reeves, D.D., M.R.I.A. It forms vol. vi. of 'The Historians of Scotland.'

[12] ". . . Pre cunctis sociis suis erat in oculis sancti senis [Servani] preciosus, et amabilis. Unde et illum patria lingua Munghu, quod Latine dicitur Karissimus Amicus, ex consuetudine appellavit."—'Vita Kentigerni,' c. iv. "This is a Welsh word. It comes from *mwyn*, mild, amiable, gentle; and *cu*, in composition *gu*, dear. This is the same termination as in Glesgu, or, as in the British Museum MS., Deschu, . . . the old name of Glasgow, and translated 'cara familia.'"—'The Historians of Scot.,' vol. v. pp. 169, 327 n. S.

his birth. Educated by St Servanus at Culenros, the Culross of our day, where he excited the dislike and persecution of his fellow-students, young Kentigern left Fifeshire in secret, and journeyed till he reached Clydesdale, which then formed the kingdom of Cumbria, or Strathclyde. Here he was approached by the king and clergy of the region, and urged to allow himself to be elected shepherd and bishop of their souls. Very unwilling at first to turn from a life of inward peace and holy contemplation, Kentigern finally consented, and was consecrated—one bishop from Ireland, "after the manner of the Britons and Scots," officiating. "He established his cathedral seat," writes Jocelyn, the monk of Furness Abbey, "in a town called Glesgu, which is, interpreted, The Dear Family, and is now called Glasgu, where he united to himself a famous and God-beloved family of servants of God, who practised continence, and who lived after the fashion of the primitive Church under the apostles, without private property, in holy discipline and divine service."[13]

With the subsequent incidents in the missionary life of Kentigern—his taking refuge with St David in Wales, his building there a monastery, afterwards called St Asaph's, his recall to the Cymric kingdom, his meeting with Columba, and his death early in the seventh century,—with these matters, interesting enough in themselves, we are not immediately concerned. Our present interest in the man is exhausted when we note that, while his sphere of missionary labour and divine service was in Strathclyde, that of Ninian being in Galloway, and that of Columba in Pictland, his church organisation and ritual were substantially the same with those of the other apostles of Celtic Scotland.

One district of the country, forming the country of the Anglic nation, still remained to be Christianised, after the south, the north, and the west had been brought out of

[13] "Cathedralem sedem suam in villa dicta Glesgu quod interpretatur Cara Familia, que nunc vocatur Glasgu constituit."—'Vit. Kentigerni,' c. xi.

paganism. The partial conversion of the Angles to Christianity is placed by Celtic scholars under the year 627, in which year of grace Æduin the king was baptised at York on the holy day of Easter. But the name of Aidan, Bishop of Northumbria, must always be associated with the entire Christianising of the Angles, which took place eight years later, when King Oswald, sending "to the elders of the Scots," as Bede expresses it, received from them Aidan to be bishop, appointed him the island of Lindisfarne for his episcopal see, and gave him money and lands to enable him to build monasteries.[14] Mailros, the Melrose Abbey of Tweedside, was one of these ecclesiastical settlements which royal munificence enabled Aidan to rear. And with Mailros there came to be peculiarly connected the name of Cudberct, popularly called St Cuthbert. Irish parentage has been attributed to this Scottish saint, and it is not unlikely he was the son of some Irish chief or petty king by an Anglic mother. When yet a boy he was brought to Britain, and, after some wanderings, was appointed prior of Mailros, in which office he displayed fervid zeal for the conversion of the surrounding populace, going out frequently from the monastery, occasionally on horseback, more generally on foot, and preaching the way of truth. Weeks, sometimes an entire month, were devoted to these evangelistic tours, in the course of which the missioner penetrated to remote villages, the inhabitants of which were cut off from intercourse with such as could instruct them. Transferred in 664 to the monastery of Lindisfarne,[15] "to teach the rules of

[14] Bæda, 'Hist. Eccl.,' lib. iii. c. iii. "Bishop Aidan, a man of singular meekness, piety, and moderation; zealous in the cause of God, though not altogether according to knowledge, for he was wont to keep Easter Sunday according to the custom of his country . . . from the 14th to the 20th moon, the northern province of the Scots and all the nation of the Picts celebrating Easter then after that manner. . . . But the Scots which dwelt in the south of Ireland had long since, by the admonition of the bishop of the Apostolic See, learned to observe Easter according to the canonical custom."

[15] Lindisfarne, now called Holy Island, is situated on the north of North-

monastic perfection with the authority of a superior," he there became zealous in endeavours to assimilate the Scottish system to the customs of the Roman Church, and through patient and insistent practice was largely successful in his attempt.

After twelve years of active service in the Northumbrian monastery, Cudberct followed the custom of ecclesiastics in his day, and withdrew to lead a solitary life in the remote and uninhabited island of Farne, about two miles and a half from the mainland, where he constructed an anchorite's cell. Eight years having been spent in this solitude, Cudberct was in 684 elected bishop of Lindisfarne, and reluctantly consented to be consecrated. Two years after election, convinced his end was near, he resigned office, retired to his cell, and in 687 departed to the Lord, the circumstances attending his last days, as recorded by his biographer, Bede, being very similar to those in the case of Columba, narrated in the pages of Adamnan.[16]

These notices of the men whose names stand associated with the introduction and establishment of Christianity in the different districts or kingdoms of Scotland, although in themselves brief, may suffice to bring out one feature of the religious life common to them all, and which materially affected the worship they inaugurated. That feature was the practice of monasticism. While the Ninian, the Columban, and the Cymbrian Churches might differ as to the correct time for the observance of Easter, and as to the

umberland. Here stood a monastery, and it was for four centuries the seat of the present see of Durham.

[16] Bæda, 'Hist. Eccl.,' lib. iv. c. xxvii.-xxxii. In addition to the information supplied in the foregoing work of Bede, there is a life of the saint written by the same venerable author, and given in his 'Minor Historical Works.' "In modern times the Rev. James Bain has published, in a collection printed by the Surtees Society, two lives of St Cuthbert—a prose and a metrical. He has also given to the public, 'Saint Cuthbert, with an Account of the State in which his Remains were found on opening his Tomb in 1827' (Durham, 1828); and Archbishop Eyre has written a life of this saint (Lond., 1849)."—'Kalendars of Scottish Saints,' by Bishop Forbes, p. 317.

proper mode of making the tonsure, they were at one with the Churches of Strathclyde and the Lothians in holding that the highest form of religious life was that modelled on monastic rule.

And so the Candida Casa of Ninian at Whithorn became a "*magnum monasterium.*" Before Columba crossed from Ireland to Britain he had founded monasteries not a few, though these were little better than collections of wooden huts; and he commenced his Pictish mission by founding his famous monastery on the island of Iona. Kentigern, as has been seen, was no sooner in touch with St David of Wales, one of the founders of monasticism, than he set himself to build a monastery in the country which yielded him an asylum; and when he established his see at Glasgow, he formed a society or college of the servants of God under monastic rules. And Cudberct, in his turn, received the tonsure, became a monk, and was afterwards chosen prior of the monastery of Mailros or Melrose, where it is testified of him that he gave to his brethren a splendid pattern of the monastic life. Without concerning ourselves about the quarter or quarters from which monachism reached the Celtic Church of Scotland, or about the internal organisation of the fraternity—both of which matters lie outside our province—we note the influence which this mode of Christian life exercised upon the divine services of Scoto-Celtic Christianity. It rendered that worship one of strict rule, in the rubric of which no room was found for the extemporaneous, the unwritten.

The material now available for determining the matter, form, and order of worship instituted by the founders of the Scottish Church is not large. No entire liturgical service exists; only fragments—Welsh, Irish, and Scottish—have survived. Of these, by far the most interesting is that found in what is known as the Book of Deer.[17] This is a

[17] The Book of Deer, carefully edited by Dr John Stuart, was published by

parchment volume of 8vo size, containing 86 folios, which belonged originally to the Cistercian Abbey of Deer, in the district of Buchan, and came, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, into the possession of the University of Cambridge. It contains the Gospel of St John entire, portions of the other three Gospels, the Apostles' Creed, and a colophon in old Irish, all in the same handwriting, which experts agree in regarding as that of a ninth-century scribe. Also, in a later hand, inserted between the written portion of St Mark and that of St Luke, there is a fragment of an office for the visitation and administration of the Communion to the sick, about which all that can be said with any certainty is that it dates from a time anterior to the changes introduced by Queen Margaret and her sons. Beginning with the rubric, "Likewise the prayer before the Lord's Prayer," it opens out with this collect: "Creator of all kinds of being, God and Father of every fatherhood in heaven and in earth, receive from Thy throne of light that is inaccessible these the devout prayers of Thy trembling people, and amid the unwearied praises of Cherubim and Seraphim who stand around Thee, give ear to our petitions for the assurance of our hope." Then follow the opening words of the Lord's Prayer, which the rubric directs is to be repeated "*usque in finem.*"

After that the Deer fragment gives what liturgiologists term the Embolismus, being a short prayer thrown in: "Deliver us, O Lord, from evil; O Lord Christ Jesus, keep us always in every good work: O God, the fount and author of all good things, empty us of vices, and fill us with good virtues, through Thyself, Christ Jesu."

The rubric which follows is the only portion of the frag-

the Spalding Club in 1869. The portion containing the office for visiting and administering the Communion to the sick has been reprinted by Haddan and Stubbs in their 'Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents,' vol. ii. pt. i. p. 275; also by Mr Warren in his 'Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church,' Clarendon Press, p. 163.

ment not in Latin, being in the vernacular of the time, and to the effect, "Here give the sacrifice to him." The words of administration to be addressed to the sick man are then given: "The body with the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be to thee health unto eternal life and salvation." A formula of thanksgiving follows up the act of administration, couched in these terms: "Refreshed with the body and blood of Christ, let us render alway to Thee, O Lord, the Alleluia, Alleluia;" and that again leads on to a cento from the Psalms, each quotation ending with the twice-repeated Alleluia, the formula being repeated at intervals. The office comes to a conclusion with the following collect, which, as in the case of the Embolismus, is addressed to Christ: "O God, we give Thee thanks, through whom we have celebrated these holy mysteries, and we beseech of Thee the gifts of holiness. Have mercy upon us, O Lord, Saviour of the world, who reignest for ever and ever. Amen."[18]

This fragment, short as it is, has a twofold value. It is of interest as a veritable fragment of Scottish Celtic liturgical documents, all other remains for which such an antiquity is claimed being either of Irish extraction or belonging to the Sarum Order, the adoption of which in Scotland does not date further back than the twelfth century. This short eucharistic office is also of evidential value because of the similarity between many of the liturgical expressions occurring in it and those of the Mozarabic and Gallican missals, and because of its divergence from certain marked features of the Roman liturgy. It thus affords evidence in favour of the contention of those who claim for the Scoto-Pictish liturgy of the Columban Church an "Ephesine" as distinguished from a "Petrine" derivation.[19]

[18] Appendix A., Scottish Service for Visitation and Communion of the Sick.

[19] There is a close coincidence between many expressions in the short eucharistic office which it contains and those of the Mozarabic and Gallican missals, and there is a marked deviation from certain invariable features of

From a single liturgical fragment belonging to the Celtic period of the Scottish Church we may pass to certain statements, phrases, and particular terms to be found in biographies of the period, which directly relate to or incidentally reveal the details of early monastic worship.

Public worship was conducted daily throughout the year,[20] Adamnan telling, in his life of the saint, what befell a book of hymns for the office of every day in the week, penned by the hand of Columba himself. The days of the Calendar were either private and ordinary, or festival;[21] but whether the one or the other, each day had an office or service[22] of prayers, psalms, hymns, and versicles, these being offered, sung, and read at canonical hours called the Hours of Prayer. Each Lord's Day, all birthdays of saints,[23] ascertained or conjectured, belonged to the festival class of days. On such days the brethren were summoned to the Oratory by the

the Roman liturgy. Therefore this fragment, short as it is, affords evidence that the Scoto-Pictish liturgy of the Columban Church in Scotland belonged to the "Ephesine" and not to the "Petrine" family of liturgies. The reasons for this conclusion are given in detail in the notes. Warren's 'The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church,' p. 163.

[20] Adamnan tells what befell a book of hymns for the office of every day in the week, and in the handwriting of St Columba—"hymnorum liber septimaniorum Sanctæ Columbæ manu descriptus."—'Vit. S. Columb.,' lib. ii. c. viii. Upon this Dr Reeves remarks: "We have no collection remaining to answer the present description; but there are abundant materials for an Irish Hymnal preserved in the 'Antiphonary' of Bangor, the 'Leabhar Breac,' Mone's 'Hymni Medii Ævi,' and, above all, the celebrated 'Liber Hymnorum,' now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin."—'The Historians of Scotland,' vol. vi. p. 269.

[21] The festival days were termed *solennes, solemnes.*

[22] *Cursus* or *synaxis.* The chapter "De Cursu" in the 'Rule of Columbanus' commences thus: "De synaxi ergo—*i.e.*, de cursu Psalmorum et orationum modo canonico," and it prescribes: "Per diurnas terni Psalmi horas pro operum interpositione statuti sunt a *Senioribus nostris*, . . . deinde pro omni populo Christiano, deinde pro Sacerdotibus et reliquis Deo consecratis sacræ plebis gradibus, postremo pro eleemosynas facientibus, postea pro pace regum, novissime pro inimicis." The reference to "Senioribus nostris" may include St Comgall of Bangor, of whom Columbanus was a pupil.—Dr Reeves, Notes to Introduction to 'Life of Columba,' p. 236.

[23] "Dies Dominicæ" and "Sanctorum Natales."

sound of the bell,[24] and took their places in their white robes.[25] The service began with the reading of the Gospel, the chanting of the particular office, the making commemoration of departed saints, chanting, intoning, and singing being led by chanters.[26] Then came the principal part of the service—the administration of that ordinance to which were applied such titles as "the holy services of the Eucharist," "the holy mysteries of the Eucharist," "the solemn offices of the Mass," "the holy oblation," "the body of Christ," "the sacrificial mystery."[27] The material things made use of in celebrating this sacrament were (1) bread, called "bread of the Lord";[28] (2) wine;[29] and (3) water drawn from a pure spring.[30]

Baptism was administered both to adults and to infants, but what particular formula was used in the administration does not appear. It has been alleged that "the once universal custom of administering the Eucharist to children after baptism" was practised in the Celtic Church of Scotland. All the evidence adduced is taken from the Stowe Missal, in

[24] ". . . subito ad suum dicit ministratorem Diormitium, Cloccam pulsa."—'Vit. S. Columb.,' lib. i. c. vii.

[25] ". . . ad ecclesiam [ministeriis] quasi die solenni albati cum Sancto pergunt."—Ibid., lib. iii. c. xiii.

[26] "Sed forte, dum inter talia cum modulatione officia illa consueta decantaretur deprecatio, in qua Sancti Martini commemoratur nomen, subito Sanctus ad Cantores ejusdem onomatis ad locum pervenientes, Hodie, ait, pro Sancto Columbano episcopo decantare debetis."—Ibid.

[27] "Sacra eucharisticæ ministeria. Sacra eucharisticæ mysteria. Sacræ oblationis mysteria. Missarum solemnia. Sacra oblatio. Corpus Christi. Sacrificale mysterium."—Ibid., *passim*.

[28] "Dominicum panem. Nam alia die Dominica a Sancto jussus Christi corpus ex more conficere, Sanctum advocat ut simul, quasi duo presbyteri, Dominicum panem frangerent. Sanctus proinde ad altarium accedens, repente intuitus faciem ejus, sic eum compellat, Benedicat te Christus, frater; hunc solus, episcopali ritu, frange panem; nunc scimus quod sis episcopus."—Ibid., lib. i. c. xxxv.

[29] ". . . quadam solenni die vinum ad sacrificale mysterium casu aliquo minime inveniebatur."—Ibid., lib. ii. c. i.

[30] ". . . ad fontem sumpto pergit urceo, ut ad sacræ Eucharistiæ ministeria aquam, quasi diaconus, fontanam hauriret."—Ibid.

which one of the verses employed as a communion anthem or antiphon is the verse, "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not."[31] That, it must be admitted, is very slender evidence in support of the assertion. To this has to be added that the Missal in question, although the earliest surviving belonging to the Irish Church, is one about the history of which little is known, and that little does not carry the sacramental portion of the volume further back than the ninth century.[32]

Columba, the apostle of Pictland, died in 597; and the words in which his biographer tells how the first of his order passed to the Lord have so close a bearing upon some of the details of Celtic worship just noticed, that it may be well to reproduce the substance at least of the passage. The saint had kept the nocturnal vigils of the last Lord's Day he spent upon earth, and had given his farewell instructions to the brethren in the hearing of his attendant alone, saying: "These, O my children, are the last words I address to you—that ye be at peace and have unfeigned charity among yourselves; and if you thus follow the example of the holy fathers, God, the Comforter of the good, will be your helper, and I, abiding with Him, will intercede for you."[33]

[31] Bellesheim, 'History of the Catholic Church of Scotland,' chap. ii. § 24, p. 136. Warren: "There are traces of the once universal custom of administering the Eucharist to children after baptism in the Stowe Missal: 'V. Sinite parvulos et nolite eos prohibere ad me venire.' The employment of this verse as a communion anthem points to the custom of infant communion." —'The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church,' pp. 136, 267.

[32] "The Stowe Missal. Little is known about the history of the MS. which bears this name, and which is the earliest surviving Missal of the Irish Church. . . . The sacramental portion of the volume, with which alone we are here concerned, is in various handwritings, the oldest of which cannot, on liturgical grounds, be assigned to an earlier period than the ninth century, though several of the features, taken singly, seem to point to a still earlier, and others to a still later, date."—Warren, *ut sup.*, chap. iii. § 14, "Irish Fragments," pp. 198, 199.

[33] "Hæc vobis, O filioli, novissima commendo verba, ut inter vos mutuam et non fictam habeatis charitatem, cum pace; et si ita, juxta sanctorum exempla patrum, observaveritis, Deus, confortator bonorum, vos auxiliabitur, et ego,

Thereafter the bell tolled for matins, then celebrated a little before daybreak. He rose hastily from the bare flag which had been his couch, and the stone which had served for pillow, and, running more quickly than the rest, he entered the church alone, and knelt down in prayer beside the altar. When the service was about to commence, the Abbot was found lying before the altar speechless. The faithful Diormit was quickly by his side, resting the dying man's head upon his bosom, and raising the right hand for a blessing on the assembled monks.

After the soul had departed and the matin hymns were finished, the body was carried by the brethren, chanting psalms, from the church back to the chamber from which, a little before, he had come forth alive, and his obsequies were celebrated with all due honour and reverence during three days and as many nights. These completed, the body was wrapped "in a clean shroud of fine linen, and, being placed in the coffin prepared for it, was buried with all due veneration, to rise again with lustrous and eternal brightness."[34]

In Scottish documents and chronicles bearing upon matters ecclesiastical in Scotland during the eighth century, a word appears for the first time, the attempt to fix the origin and meaning of which makes of itself a chapter in historical controversy.[35] When from the etymology of the word Culdee

cum ipso manens, pro vobis interpellabo; et non tantum præsentis vitæ necessaria abeo sufficienter administrabuntur sed etiam æternalium bonorum præmia, divinorum observatoribus præparata, tribuentur." — 'Vit. Sanc. Columb.,' lib. iii. c. xxiv.

[34] Ibid.

[35] The Latin, Welsh, Irish, and Gaelic languages have all been drawn upon by etymologists when hunting for the derivation of the term. Dr Reeves, the greatest modern authority on the subject, believes Culdee to be a corruption of the Celtic *Céle-* or *Kele-De*, that again being a translation of *Servus Dei*. Dr J. H. Burton makes an amusing contribution to the history of the word: "This old Celtic word for servant came in the Scots Celtic of later times to be hardened into the word 'gilly,' well-known to the tenants of Highland moors. Thus has it happened that at the present day the etymological representative

historians and theologians proceed to determine the relation in which the Culdees stood, on the one hand, to the Church of Iona, and on the other to the Church of Rome, the controversy becomes keener,—so keen that no wise man who has not a direct call to do so will care to become involved therein.[36] Happily for us, the information bearing on the worship of the Culdees can be reduced within small compass, and the statement of it does not necessitate, however much it may invite, debatable treatment.

With *Keledei*, as the Scottish form of the word, there is a reference to the Culdees in a description of the Church of St Andrews contained in the larger legend of that saint, drawn up in the middle of the twelfth century. Among other interesting items of information regarding the Keledei of that locality, it is stated that none of them served at the altar of the blessed apostle, but that they were wont to say their office, after their own fashion. in a corner of a church which was very small.[37] What peculiarities of ritual charac-

of the Culdee is found in the gamekeeper's assistant."—'Hist. of Scot.,' chap. xii., "The Church," vol. i. p. 394 n., 2d ed.

[36] The popular and (to Calvinistic Presbyterians) palatable view of the Culdees is given in such works as Dr J. H. A. Ebrard's 'Handbuch der Christlichen Kirchen und Dogmen-Geschichte'; also in a series of papers by the same author in the 'Zeitschrift für die Historische Theologie' for 1863, and in his 'Culdeische Kirche'; in Dr John Jamieson's 'Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees of Iona' (a popular reprint of what first appeared in 1811 came out in 1890. Glasgow: T. D. Morison); and most recently in Dr J. A. Wylie's 'Hist. of the Scot. Nation,' vol. iii., 1890. The more critical estimate of Keledean history and theology is that given by Skene, 'Celtic Scot.,' vol. ii. bk. ii. chap. vi. 'The Secular Clergy and the Culdees'—of which Bellesheim's chapter, "The Culdees and the Secular Clergy," vol. i. chap. vi., is a barefaced reproduction, with an occasional transposition of terms, as in the title of the chapter—also by Prof. G. Grub in his 'Ecclesiastical Hist. of Scot.,' an Episcopalian work not less valuable for its diligent research than for its impartial candour. A condensed but succinct account of the Culdees will be found in Haddan and Stubbs's 'Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents,' vol. ii. Part i. Period iii., Append. B.—"Keledei (*vulgo* 'Culdees' in Scotland, c. A.D. 800—c. A.D. 1150.) *Not extinct, however, until the middle of the fourteenth century.*"

[37] "Keledei namque in angulo quodam ecclesiæ, quæ modica nimis erat, suum

terised the Culdee worship at St Andrews, over and above that of celebrating the Eucharist, not at the altar but in a corner of the church, cannot be confidently stated; but evidently they were such as proved distasteful to the Saxon mind, and as such would be dealt with as abuses in a barbarous rite by the reforming and conforming Council at which Malcolm III. and Queen Margaret were present.

Then, somewhere about the middle of the twelfth century, the monastery of Lochleven, which had been occupied by Keledei, was made over to the prior and canons of St Andrews, and the old order at Lochleven was suppressed. On that occasion an inventory was drawn up for insertion in the Register of St Andrews, in which were entered all the belongings of the Keledean monks. Among other things catalogued are so many books, and among the books are a Pastoral, a Gradual, a Missal, and a Lectionary.[38] While some of these, such as the first and last named, are ordinary service-books, the other two are books employed in the celebration of Mass—the Missal containing all that was necessary for the celebration of Mass throughout the year, and the Gradual the anthem sung at the approach of the priest to the altar, called the Introit, also the anthem sung after the epistle and the missal anthems were ended. How long these books had been in the Lochleven monastery before passing into new hands, it is, of course, impossible to say; but their being there at all, in the possession of Culdees, in the library of the old and wealthy foundation, on the

officium more suo celebrabant."—Skene's 'Chron. Picts and Scots.' Haddan and Stubbs, *ut sup.*, p. 180. See also valuable notes of Dr Reeves, 'On the Culdees,' Dublin, 1864, p. 106.

[38] ". . . et cum hiis libris—*i.e.*, cum Pastorali, Graduali, Missali . . . cum Leccionario."—A.D. 1144—1150. Gift of the Keledean Monastery of Lochleven by Robert, Bishop of St Andrews, to the prior and canons of St Andrews. And suppression of the Keledei of Lochleven. Haddan and Stubbs, *ut sup.*, Period iv. pp. 227, 228.

same shelf with books of the Bible and works of the fathers, is of itself noteworthy.

One more document bears in its title to be of Culdee origin, and has an important bearing upon Keledean worship. First printed by a Glasgow liturgiologist from a manuscript found in Ratisbon monastery, but now preserved in the library of the Roman Catholic College at Blairs, in Kincardineshire, the document was inserted by the late Bishop Forbes of Brechin as an appendix to his preface of the 'Kalendars of Scottish Saints,' and more recently it has been incorporated by Haddan and Stubbs in their 'Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland.'[39] The document purports to contain "Ancient litanies used in the old monastery of Dunkeld, which the Keledei, commonly called Culdees, were wont to sing in public processions," or, more briefly, the Dunkeld Litany.

The anachronisms and historical inaccuracies in the Dunkeld Litany as it now stands show too clearly that it has suffered from interpolations, some of which are as recent as the fifteenth century.[40] While, however, the extreme antiquity claimed for the Culdee Litany must be largely discounted, there is no reason why it should be regarded as an imposition or a simulated antique. Forming the basis of the literary structure, there was in all probability an earlier and simpler genuine writing, giving in substance the prayers of the old Keledei of Scotland, to which from time to time additions were made of certain historical names.

The Litany opens with, "Lord have mercy upon us" and "Christ have mercy upon us," uttered in each case three

[39] 'Kalendars of Scottish Saints,' Pref., pp. xxxiv, xxxv. Append. to Pref., pp. iii, lvi-lxv. 'Councils and Eccles. Doc.,' vol. ii. Period iv. Append. C., pp. 278-285.

[40] *E.g.*, the names of King Constantine (A.D. 900-952) and King David I. (A.D. 1124-1153) occur among those "Sanctorum Confessorum et Monachorum" to whom it is said *ora pro nobis;* while Gerich (King Gregory, A.D. 873-893) is prayed for as still alive.

times. The cry "pity us" is then addressed to God the Father, Son, and Spirit, the Triune God. The invocation "pray for us" is first addressed to that person who is described as (*a*) Holy Mary, (*b*) Holy Virgin of Virgins, (*c*) Mother of God. The same "ora pro nobis" is then directed to a series of beings grouped in the following order: First, angels, including the archangels Michael and Raphael, with Urihel, Cherubin, Seraphin, and all the holy choir of the nine orders of celestial spirits; second, apostles and evangelists, to the number of sixteen, beginning with Saint Peter, "Princeps Apostolorum," and Saint Andrew, "Patronus Noster"; third, the martyrs, sixteen in all, including Joseph of Arimathea, Alban and Amphibalus, first martyrs of the British Church, with Blaithmac and the monks, his companions, who are described as "cruelly slain by the heathen Danes"; fourth, the bishops, thirty-four in number, Saints Victor and Cœlestine, Popes of Rome, heading the list, but the majority of names being Celtic, and including among a number of unknown such familiar names as Ninian, Palladius, Servanus, Kentigern, "truly styled Mungo," and Cudberct; fifth, the abbots, thirty-eight all told, and, with the exception of three, all Celts, fourth in order being Columba, and fourteenth his successor and biographer, Adamnan; sixth, the confessors and monks, the first six names in a list of twenty-four having the word "Rex" written after them; seventh, the virgins and widows, numbering twenty-two, of whom Mary Magdalene and Martha are the first and second.

After "ora pro nobis" of Litany comes "intercedite pro nobis." That petition is addressed in succession to Angels and Archangels, Virtues, Thrones, Powers, Dominions, Principalities, the company of the nine heavenly orders, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Bishops, Abbots, Confessors, and Monks, Virgins and Widows. "That," the Litany goes on to say, "by your prayers we may persevere in true penitence,

that by your intercessions we may overcome the Devil and his temptations, and be led in safety to the heavenly kingdom."

The prayer "be propitious," three times repeated, with a slightly varied response, leads up to a petition for deliverance from fifteen deprecated evils, the petition being addressed to Him who is entreated by His Advent, Nativity, Circumcision, Baptism, Passion, and Mission of the Paraclete Spirit. To that there succeeds the prayer "we beseech Thee to hear us," addressed to the thrice-invoked "Holy Father," and having reference to no fewer than twenty-five topics of intercession.

The thrice-repeated invocation, "Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world," is answered by the threefold response, "Have mercy upon us, O Lord, have mercy upon us; O Lord, give to us peace;" and it is followed by the words, "Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ rules," repeated in three lines. These lines are in turn followed by three petitions each uttered twice: "O Christ, hear us," "O Lord, have mercy upon us," "O Christ, have mercy upon us," the response in each case being a repetition of the petition. Then comes, just before the Amen, a versicle of three lines: "Thou, O Christ, grant unto us Thy grace. Thou, O Christ, give to us joy and peace. Thou, O Christ, grant unto us life and salvation."

After the Amen is the rubric, "Let us pray," followed by the opening words of the "Pater Noster," and by the following prayer:—

"Almighty and life-giving God, we humbly beseech Thy Majesty that, through the wonderful merits and prayers of the accepted saints, and through the powerful intercessions of Saint Mary Thy Mother, of all Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Bishops, Abbots, Confessors, and Monks, Virgins and Widows, reigning in heaven with Thee, Thou wouldest grant to us pardon and forgiveness of all sins, the increase of Thy heavenly grace, and Thine effectual help against all snares of our enemies visible and invisible;

so that, our hearts given up wholly to Thy commandments, we may merit at length, after the close of this mortal life, both to see the face and glory of these saints in the kingdom of God, and to rejoice with them in our surpassing Lord Jesus Christ, our Redeemer, to Whom, along with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be honour and power and dominion, throughout all ages. Amen." [41]

When we pass, as it is necessary we should now do, to the worship of Scotland in medieval times, there meets us at the threshold of that period the striking personality of Margaret, the Saxon princess who became Queen of Scotland. Long before she came to influence religion and ritual in the country to which she fled from Norman invasion and conquest, efforts had been made to harmonise the worship of the national Church, the *Ecclesia Scoticana* of ninth-century chroniclers, with that of Rome. A large measure of success had attended such efforts, which began with the mission of Augustin toward the close of the sixth century, and were continued by Wilfrid of Lindisfarne and Adamnan of Iona, Scottish perverts to Roman usage, by Nectan the Pictish king, and by Ecberct the Saxon monk. Yielding to the pressure of external force and of internal divisions, the old Celtic Church was in a state of decline approaching extinction; the ancient Columban and Culdean monasteries of wood were disappearing, giving place to stone abbeys and priories modelled upon Italian patterns; and the Keledei, whom many revere as early Scottish Puritans, were either being wholly suppressed or summarily converted into canons regular.

But the movement in favour of subordination to papal authority and assimilation to Roman usage received its greatest acceleration from the example and the influence of the most devoted daughter of the Papacy that ever sat upon a throne.

When in the spring of 1069 the Scottish king, Malcolm, was married to the Anglic princess Margaret, a union was

[41] The Latin of the Dunkeld Litany will be found condensed in Appendix B.

consummated that exercised a most powerful influence on the religion of Scotland. Protestants have vied with writers of her own Church in their endeavour to do justice to the character and the life-work of this Saxon saint and sovereign. She has been pronounced unsurpassed for purity of motives and personal piety, for entire self-abnegation and the unselfish performance of whatever duty lay before her, for earnest desire to benefit the people among whom her lot was cast, and for benefactions to the poor upon a scale of princely munificence.[42] While credit is undoubtedly to be given her for these qualities and graces, it must not be overlooked that her religion was of the austerest and most ascetic type that even the Church of Rome has developed. It was the religion of the crucifix, the Mass, and Lent observance; of abstinence so complete and prolonged as to generate disease; and of charity which, not content with relieving the necessities of the poor, washed the feet of six indigent persons, personally fed nine little orphans with pap put into their mouths with the spoon used by the royal feeder, and would not suffer a meal to be partaken of until four-and-twenty poor retainers, who were always within reach, had been humbly waited upon. The private apartments of the queen were so many show-rooms of ecclesiastical furniture and workshops of sacred art, in which were constantly being made "copes for the cantors, chasubles, stoles, altar-cloths, and other priestly vestments and Church ornaments."[43] The Court maidens were kept busy producing such

[42] "There is perhaps no more beautiful character recorded in history than that of Margaret."—Skene, 'Celtic Scot.,' vol. ii. bk. ii. chap. viii. p. 344. "It would be impossible to give any adequate idea of the edifying life and holy death of this princess. . . . We see here the picture of the highest and purest domestic piety of the middle age."—Bishop Forbes, 'Kalendar of Scot. Saints,' p. 389. For a very different estimate of the character and services of Queen Margaret, see Dr Wylie's 'Hist. of the Scot. Nation,' vol. iii. chap. xvii.

[43] Turgot, 'Life of St Margaret,' translated by W. Forbes-Leith, S.J. (Edin.: W. Paterson, 1884), p. 30.

fabrics, and were strictly guarded from the contamination of male intercourse, no man being admitted into their work-rooms except when the royal mistress permitted one to enter in her company.

As Queen Margaret could not live, so neither could she die, in comfort, without her material cross upon which to fix her gaze. It is thus the last moments of her life are described by her favourite father-confessor, from whom her biographer obtained the account :—

"The disease gained ground, and death was imminent. . . . Her face had already grown pallid in death when she directed that I, and the other ministers of the sacred altar along with me, should stand near her and commend her soul to Christ by our psalms. Moreover, she asked that there should be brought to her a cross, called the Black Cross, which she always held in the greatest veneration. There was some delay in opening the chest in which it was kept, during which the queen, sighing deeply, exclaimed, 'O unhappy that we are! O guilty that we are! Shall we not be permitted once more to look upon the Holy Cross?' When at last it was got out of the chest and brought to her, she received it with reverence, and did her best to embrace it and kiss it, and several times she signed herself with it. Although every part of her body was now growing cold, still, as long as the warmth of life throbbed at her heart, she continued steadfast in prayer. She repeated the whole of the fiftieth Psalm,[44] and placing the cross before her eyes, she held it there with both her hands." [45]

The narrative is here interrupted by the priest requiring to tell how the queen's son, Edgar, came from the battle-field of Northumbria to his mother's deathbed in the Castle of Edinburgh, with tidings of the slaughter of his father,

[44] The 51st Psalm in our English version.

[45] "The cross in question was enclosed in a black case, and so called *the Black Cross*. It was of gold, set with diamonds, and was reported to contain a portion of our Lord's cross. Margaret brought it with her to Scotland, and handed it down as an heirloom to her sons: the youngest, David, when he became king, built a magnificent church for it near the city—the Church of the Holy-Rood."—Turgot, *ut sup.*, p. 77, n.

Malcolm III., and his brother Edward. Finding her at the point of death, he tried to keep the tidings from her.

"But," resumes the narrator, "with a deep sigh, she said, 'I know it, my boy, I know it. By this holy cross, by the bond of our blood, I adjure you to tell me the truth.' Thus pressed, he told her exactly all that had happened. . . . Raising her eyes and her hands toward heaven, she glorified God, saying, 'I give praise and thanks to Thee, Almighty God, for that Thou hast been pleased that I should endure such deep sorrow at my departing, and I trust that by means of this suffering it is Thy pleasure that I should be cleansed from some of the stains of my sins.' Feeling now that death was close at hand, she at once began the prayer which is usually said by the priest before he receives the Body and Blood of our Lord, saying, 'Lord Jesus Christ, who, according to the will of the Father through the co-operation of the Holy Ghost, hast by Thy death given life to the world, deliver me.' As she was saying the words, 'Deliver me,' her soul was freed from the chains of the body, and departed to Christ, the author of true liberty, to Christ whom she had always loved, and by whom she was made a partaker of the happiness of the saints, the examples of whose virtues she had followed." [46]

Not content with exercising such influence in Court circles as a royal devotee could not fail to exert, Queen Margaret brought her authority to bear upon the ecclesiastical practices of her nonconforming subjects. Finding some customs peculiar to the old Celtic Church which widely differed from those in the Church which had been her *alma mater*, she set herself strenuously to have them rectified, holding frequent councils with the clergy in the hope of bringing them round to the faith and usage of the universal Church.

One of these conferences extended over three days, during which time the queen, aided by a very few friends, combated the defenders of local custom with the sword of the Spirit—the king, at home in both the Anglic and the Gaelic languages, acting as interpreter. At this council there were

[46] Turgot, *ut sup.*, pp. 76-80.

discussed such subjects as the Lenten fast, Easter Communion,[47] Sabbath observance, and marriage within the forbidden degrees. On all these topics the queen spoke *ex cathedra*, silencing her opponents and carrying everything her own way. One other subject discussed at this council has a special interest for us, although it is very briefly treated by Turgot, Bishop of St Andrews, and biographer of the queenly disputant. "There were," states our authority, "certain places in Scotland in which masses were celebrated according to some sort of barbarous rite contrary to the usage of the whole Church. Fired by the zeal of God, the queen attempted to root out and abolish this custom, so that henceforth, in the whole of Scotland, there was not one single person who dared to continue the practice."[48] Unfortunately the writer now quoted does not specify the rite obnoxious to the queen, nor in what respect it was regarded as done after a barbarous manner. Such otherwise widely differing authorities, however, as M'Lauchlan, Skene, and Bellesheim agree in regarding this as the most probable explanation,—"that in the remote and mountainous districts the service was performed in the native language, and not in Latin, as was the custom of the universal Church."[49]

The Anglicising of the Scottish Church, towards which the

[47] The matter discussed under the head of Easter Communion was not the time for the right observance of Easter—that had been previously settled in a way satisfactory to the Saxon prince; but it was the alleged practice in Scotland of not partaking of the Sacrament on Easter-day.

[48] "Præterea in aliquibus locis Scottorum quidam fuerunt, qui contra totius Ecclesiæ consuetudinem, nescio quo ritu barbaro Missas celebrare consuaverant."—Turgot, *ut sup.*, cap. ii. § 20.

[49] "This [statement] is hardly applicable to the mere introduction of some peculiar forms or ceremonies, and the most probable explanation of these expressions is, that in the remote and mountainous districts the service was performed in the native language, and not in Latin, as was the custom of the universal Church."—Skene, 'Celtic Scot.,' vol. ii. bk. ii. chap. viii. p. 349. "Could this 'barbarous' rite imply the use of the vernacular tongue? We know that the *cursus* or form of celebration varied in the Roman Church at the time, but the term 'barbarous' is hardly applicable to mere variations in

efforts of Queen Margaret were steadily directed, was carried forward by her sons—notably by David, whom, though never canonised, James VI. styled "the sair sanct for the crown." But beyond this point it is not necessary that we carry our description of those who were instrumental in bringing about the assimilation of the old historical Church of Scotland. The development of Anglo-Roman forms of worship, which reached completion in the epoch Margaret inaugurated, may best be understood if some attention is now paid to three departments of ecclesiastical literature, all of which flourished in the middle ages—those, namely, of the Calendar, the Missal, and the Breviary.

*First*, THE CHURCH CALENDAR.—Among the earliest forms of a Directory for public worship must be reckoned the 'Kalendarium,' or 'Distributio Officiorum per circulum totius anni.' As drawn up by early Christian communities, it existed for the purpose of denoting the days of the year marked for religious celebration, and was prefixed or appended to the Sacramentaries and other liturgical books. The Christian Calendar was modelled upon the Roman 'Fasti Sacri,' or 'Fasti Kalendares'; and out of the calendars of single Churches there grew the Martyrology of the Church at large.

Of Scottish calendars prior to the days of Queen Margaret, while there may be fragments in later compilations, there is certainly no complete specimen extant. Thus, the calendar attached to the Drummond Missal, so called because found at Drummond Castle in Perthshire (A.D. 1787), is an Irish product, and cannot be assigned to any date earlier than the eleventh century;[50] and the Herdmanston Calendar, found

the Latin service."—Dr Thomas M'Lauchlan's 'Early Scottish Church,' chap. xxii. p. 331. Hunter Blair's translation of Bellesheim is just a reproduction of Skene upon this as upon so many other points.

[50] Warren's 'Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church,' chap. iii. § 15, p. 269.

in an antiphonary belonging at one time to a chapel in the parish of Salton and county of Haddington, while manifestly used in Scotland, and containing the names of Celtic saints, is clearly of thirteenth-century manufacture.[51] Leaving these fragments out of account, we come upon two "Kalendars," which may be succinctly described.

One of these is that which figures in the Bishop of Brechin's collection as 'Kalendarium de Culenros.'[52] Culenros—the Culross of modern designation and decay—was in 1217 a religious house founded by the Cistercians, through whom, in concert with the Canons of St Augustin, the Roman influence came to be dominant in Scotland, and it was then—what it continued to be even after the art of printing was practised—a great school of ecclesiastical caligraphy. When the Cistercian monks came from England and settled at Culross, they brought with them their own Roman Calendar, as well as the service-books introduced to England by Augustin of Canterbury. But to their religious celebrations and commemorations they deemed it politic, if not necessary, to impart something of a Scottish complexion. That this was done as sparingly as possible appears from the fact that only three Celtic names find a place in the Calendar—Saint Servanus, the Serf or Sair of Scottish appellation, Saint Felanus or Fillan, and Saint Fyndoca or Phink. The Calendar is taken from a Psalter[53] in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and

[51] "The Kalendar of Herdmanston is from an antiphonary, in a good hand of the thirteenth century, with ornamental initial letters and rubrics, which, however, are so defaced by damp as to be in many places illegible. The Psalter is in a larger hand. . . . On the upper margin of the first folio is this inscription, in a thirteenth-century hand, 'Iste liber est Johannis de Sco. Claro de capella sua de Hyrdmanniston,' which chapel, in the parish of Salton and county of Haddington, was founded by John de St Clair early in the thirteenth century."—Forbes, 'Kalendars,' &c., Pref., pp. xviii, xix.

[52] Forbes, *ut sup.*, Pref., pp. xx-xxiii, 51-64.

[53] The Psalter formed part of the collection of Sir James Balfour, Lyon King of Arms in the seventeenth century, and is entitled, "Psalterium Ricardi Mareshill, Abbatis de Culenros vel Culros in anno 1305."

it has for colophon a Latin inscription certifying, "Richard Marshall, late Abbot of Culenros, whom God preserve now and for ever, caused me to be made." [54]

The other medieval Directory for public worship which has special interest for us is one that bears the name of no locality, and so is designated in its modern reprint "a certain Celtic Kalendar." [55] Belonging to a collection of Gaelic manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, this service-book assigns a larger number of days of commemoration to Irish and Scottish saints than does that of Culross. The fact that those enumerated had some connection with Ireland and the south-west of Scotland would seem to indicate that, while the Culross Calendar was used in the east of the kingdom, this unattached one was drawn up for the guidance of some religious house in the Western Islands or on the west coast, where such Irish celebrities as Brigit, Patrick, Brendon, and Molio, the last-named being associated with the Holy Island in the Lamlash Bay of Arran, would be known and held in veneration.

Church calendars afford valuable material for tracing the rise and progress of the Marian cult in the Church, from its beginnings in simple commemorations of incidents in the early life of the virgin-mother to its culmination (A.D. 1854) in the dogma of the immaculateness of her conception. When the two Scottish calendars now described are examined with a reference to the festivals of the Virgin Mary, it appears that in both four find a place: (1) The Purification or Temple Presentation, on the 2d of February; (2) the Assumption of soul and body into heaven, on the 15th of August; (3) the Nativity, on the 8th of September; (4) the Conception, on the 8th of December. In addition to these, the Culross

[54] "Me fieri fecit Ricardus Merchel, quondam abbas de Culenros, quam Deus alvet hic et in evum."

[55] "Kalendarium quoddam Celticum."—Forbes, *ut sup.*, Pref., pp. xxix, xxx, 79-92. "The Celtic Kalendar printed by Bishop Forbes is a late and unimportant document."—Warren, *ut sup.*, chap. iii. § 5, p. 166.

Calendar has a fifth—viz., the Annunciation, on the 25th of March.

The age of any ecclesiastical calendar can be determined with tolerable accuracy by the absence, the paucity, or the multiplicity of days assigned to the Virgin Mary. Thus a short one belonging to the Church of Carthage is entirely silent concerning such festival days, and has consequently been assigned by Mabillon, who discovered it, and by Ruinart, who appended it to his 'Acta Martyrum,' to the fifth century. Of the Marian festivals inserted in the Culross and the unlocalised Calendar, the oldest are those of the Purification and the Annunciation, both having been instituted as early as the sixth century; and the latest is that of the Conception, which belongs to the twelfth century, and which was condemned at the time it originated by St Bernard and his contemporary Potho as novel, heterodox, unauthorised, and absurd.[56]

*Second,* The Missal.—From the very nature of its contents, a calendar was neither fitted nor intended to exist apart from books of church service. It was prefixed or appended to these in order to direct celebrants, readers, and singers in their several offices. One book of service at the commencement of which a calendar might naturally be looked for was the Missal, that book which contained the service for Mass throughout the year.

At first, and probably till the eighth century, the services of the altar were to be found in Sacramentaries, which, over and above the Eucharistic office, contained the prayers, benedictions, and prefaces proper to such rites as baptism, confirmation, and ordination, the dedication of churches, the blessing of nuns and widows, and the consecration of oil, salt, and water.

[56] See article "Calendar," by Bradshaw of Cambridge, in 'Dictionary of Christian Antiquities,' edited by Smith and Cheetham, vol. i. pp. 256, 257.

In course of time, however, owing to the Mass service becoming every year more complex, it was found necessary to compile a separate book for that department of divine service to which the Latin *missa* and English *mass* gave the appropriate titles of *Liber Missalis* and Missal. In Scotland of the sixteenth century the word for *mass* being "*mess*," books containing masses went by the name of *mess-bukis* or *missale-bukis*.[57]

Even concerning that part of the Mass which is regarded as fixed, and to which the technical term Liturgy, strictly employed, alone applies, there is a consensus of opinion that no one type of service ever existed, although there is a lack of agreement as to the number of groups or families into which liturgies, ancient and medieval, should be divided.[58] As regards the varying parts of the service, the power claimed and exercised by diocesan bishops to interpolate what was of purely local interest, and otherwise modify the service, gave rise at an early period to a bewildering variety of missals.

But for Scottish students the Missal of medieval times and use possessing the greatest amount of interest is that of Sarum.

[57] In the complaint of Walter Chepman, laid before the Privy Council of Scotland in 1509, mention is made of "mess-bukis," "manuale-bukis," "matin-bukis," "portuis," "and diuers other bukis." — Dickson and Edmond's 'Annals of Scottish Printing' (Cambridge, 1890), chap. ix., pp. 84, 85.

[58] According to Palmer, all liturgies may be reduced to four—Oriental, Alexandrian, Roman, and Gallican ('Origines Liturgicæ,' vol. i., Introduction, p. 8). Hammond distinguishes five main groups or families—three Oriental, one Western, and one holding an intermediate position ('Liturgies Eastern and Western,' Introd., p. xvi.) Burbidge finds three great families—the Eastern or Greek family, the Gallican, and the Roman ('Liturgies and Offices of the Church,' chap. i. p. 21). Messrs Addis and Arnold, editors of a Roman Catholic Dictionary, not only assert "with confidence that there was no written liturgy in the first three centuries," in opposition to Probst in his 'Liturgie der drei ersten Jahrhunderte,' but follow Le Brun to the full extent of his thesis—viz., that written liturgies did not exist for the first *four* centuries.—'A Catholic Dictionary:' London, 1884.

Among the Norman prelates appointed to English bishoprics after the invasion of the Conqueror was one Osmund, who held the see of Salisbury from 1078 till his death in 1099. For some portion of that time Chancellor of England, and one of the commissioners who compiled the Domesday-Book, Osmund the Norman did not neglect his ecclesiastical functions. He gave to his English diocese its cathedral chapter constituted on the Norman model;[59] and for the Church at large he drew up the use or custom of Salisbury, distinct from and intended to supersede other existing uses, such as those of Hereford, Bangor, York, and Lincoln. Osmund's use of Sarum includes all parts of divine service, and applies to the contents of many service-books; but it is the Sarum Missal in particular for the use of which in Scotland we have indubitable evidence. At a time not very long gone by, when Blind Harry the minstrel, and Hector Boece the history-fabricator, with Bellenden his translator, were regarded as veracious witnesses and trustworthy authorities, it was believed that Edward I. of England introduced Sarum usages into Scottish churches,—the story being that in the year 1292, when devastating the northern kingdom, that monarch caused all service-books then in use to be collected and burned, and thereafter enforced the adoption of the Sarum ritual.[60] The Catholic antiquary and historian, Thomas Innes, to be for ever honoured as the father of critical Scottish history, has the credit of being the first to expose the inaccuracy of such a representation. He conclusively proved that the Sarum ritual was practised in Scotland long before the reign of Edward I.; that no violence

[59] 'Diocesan Histories, Salisbury,' chap. iv., A.D. 1075-1194, p. 67. London, S.P.C.K.: 1880.

[60] "The Romane buikis that thar wer in Scotland they brynt thame all ilk ane: Salisbery Use our clerkis then hes tane."—'Bruce and Wallace,' bk. xi. c. 7. "He [Edward] gart the Scottis write bukis efter the use of Sarum, and constranit thaim to say efter that use."—Bellenden, vol. ii. pp. 377, 378.

was employed in introducing it, but that the Scottish bishops brought it in either on their own responsibility or at the earnest request of their clergy.[61]

In the reign of James IV. books of Sarum use must have been extensively imported and largely used in Scotland. This appears from a patent granted in 1507-8 to Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, the first printers in Scotland. In that document "it is divisit and thocht expedient" by king and council "that in tyme cuming mess-bukis, efter our awin Scottis use, and with legendis of Scottis sanctis, . . . be usit generaly within al our Realme, . . . *and that na maner of sic bukis of Salusbery use be brocht to be sauld within our Realm in tym cuming.*"[62] Some two years after the granting of this monopoly one of the persons interested, Walter Chepman, had reason to suspect that certain traders were infringing the patent. In a complaint laid before the Council he declared that four merchants, whom he named, and others along with them, had brought to this country and were selling daily mass, manual, matin, and other books, the importation of which had been prohibited. In the deliverance upon this complaint, dated January 14, 1509, the Lords of Council command the persons specified in the complaint "that nain of thaim, in tyme to cum, bring hame, nor sell within this Realm, ony missale-bukis, manualis, portuiss, or matin-bukis *of the said use of Salusbery,* under the payn of escheting of the samyn."[63] That Edinburgh traders were importing from abroad and selling largely in this country Salisbury service-books is of itself evidence of the demand there was for such literature, costly though it must then have been, and is proof conclusive that the Sarum ritual must have been extensively used in the cathedrals, churches, and

[61] 'Of the Salisbury Liturgy used in Scotland.' By Thomas Innes. Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 364.

[62] The patent is given in full in 'Annals of Scottish Printing,' chap. ii.

[63] Ibid., chap. ix.

monasteries of Scotland up to the beginning of the sixteenth century.

When we turn to the contents of the Sarum Missal in order to acquaint ourselves with the manner in which the sacrament of the Mass was celebrated in Scotland during the middle ages, we find ourselves contemplating one of the most elaborate of Western liturgies, a liturgy overlaid with strange and complicated ceremonies.

In English dress the Missal of Salisbury extends over 600 pages of an octavo volume, and these pages contain masses for festival days and common days of the week; masses for the dead and for the living, for saints and sinners; masses of the Holy Ghost, of the Holy Cross, and of the Blessed Virgin Mary; masses for the Proper and for the Common of Saints.

In order, however, to give definiteness to our conception of the contents of the Sarum Missal, once a Scottish liturgy, it may be well to give a brief description of a particular service as provided for therein. Let us take the Sarum ritual for Ash-Wednesday, *dies cinerum*, the first day of the Lent fast of forty days.[64] According to Sarum use, the following officials took part when the service was a cathedral one: the bishop or superior priest, clad in his vestments and in a red silk cope; the celebrant with his ministers in albs [65] and amices;[66] the deacon and sub-deacon; a boy holding a sack-cloth banner; torch-bearers and bearers of incense. Among the actions of the service the following occur at several stages: The clergy prostrate themselves in the choir and say

[64] "There is no mention in Scripture of the observance of Lent, or indeed of any determined time for fasting among Christians."—'A Catholic Dict.,' *ut sup.*, p. 512.

[65] The Alb. A vestment of white linen reaching from head to foot, furnished with sleeves, which the priest puts on before saying mass, uttering the prayer, "Make me white, O Lord, and cleanse me."

[66] The Amice. A piece of fine linen, oblong in shape, which the priest who is to say mass rests for a moment on his head, and then spreads on his shoulders, with the prayer, "Place on my head, O Lord, the helmet of salvation."

the seven Penitential Psalms, with the anthem, "Remember not, Lord, our offences, nor the offences of our forefathers, neither take Thou vengeance of our sins," and the "Gloria Patri"; prostration of the people, who, after receiving the priestly absolution, rise and kiss the earth or the stalls; ashes placed in silver vessels, blessed by the priest, sprinkled with holy water, and then distributed on the heads of the clergy and laity by those of higher dignity; signing the sign of the cross with ashes, and saying, "Remember, O man, that thou art ashes, and unto ashes shalt thou return;" a procession through the choir with torch-bearers and thurifers, preceded by the boy with the sackcloth banner and disappearing at the western door; ejection of the penitents[67] by the officiant handing them one by one out of the choir, and delivering them to the ministration of some priest, each penitent kissing the hand of the officiant on going out; the door of the church being shut upon the ejected penitents, and the procession having returned as usual, the Mass begins. Toward the close of the service the deacon says, "Let us kneel," and all kneel; then, "Arise," and all rise and kiss the stalls. This order of service was observed every day but Sunday from the first day of Lent till Easter.

The versicles, collects, and prayers of the Sarum service for Ash-Wednesday present a mixture of the objectionable and the commendable. Thus the form of absolution to be uttered by the priest, with outstretched hand, "without tone, but in audible voice," is in these terms: "We absolve you in the place of Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, to whom hath been given by the Lord the power of binding and

[67] The administration of the ashes was not originally made to all the faithful, but only to public penitents. Out of humility and affection friends of the penitents, though not in the same condition, used to join themselves to them, expressing in their outward guise a similar contrition, and offering their foreheads also to be sprinkled with ashes. The number of these people gradually increased, until at length the administration of ashes was extended to the whole congregation.—'A Cath. Dict.,' *ut sup.*, pp. 53, 54.

loosing; and so far as self-accusation pertaineth to you and remission to us, may Almighty God be unto you life and health and the gracious pardoner of all your sins." But before uttering these misleading words the absolving priest has breathed this striking prayer to God: "O Lord, Who art not overcome of our transgression, but graciously accepteth satisfaction, look, we beseech Thee, upon Thy servants who confess that they have grievously sinned against Thee; for to Thee it appertaineth to absolve offences, and to give pardon to sinners: Thou hast said Thou wouldest rather the repentance than the death of sinners; grant, therefore, O Lord, to these Thy servants that they may keep unto Thee the vigil of penitence, and, amending their ways, may give thanks for eternal joys bestowed on them by Thee." [68]

The invocation of one of the Sarum Missal collects for Lent service has made a place for itself in both English and Scottish prayers to the present time. The blessing of the ashes—*benedictio cinerum*—on the part of the priest when he had gone to the altar and had turned to the east opened after this fashion: "Almighty and everlasting God, Who hast compassion upon all men, and hatest nothing which Thou hast made, passing over the sins of men for their penitence; Who also succourest them that are in necessity: vouchsafe to bless + and sanctify + these ashes, which for humility and holy religion's sake Thou hast appointed us, after the manner of the Ninevites, to bear on our heads for the doing away of our offences." [69] In the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI. (1549) there is a service for "the firste daie of Lente commonly called Ashe-Wednisdaye." In that service the blessing, sprinkling, and distributing of ashes all disappear; but the longest prayer of the service, coming in after "the general sentences of Goddes cursyng agaynste impenitente sinners"

[68] 'The Sarum Missal, in English' (London: The Church Press Company, 1868), p. 54.

[69] Ibid., pp. 54, 55.

uttered by the priest from the pulpit, and after the "Miserere mei Deus" recited by kneeling priest and clerks, begins with: "O most mightie god and mercifull father, which hast compassion of all menne, and hateste nothyng that Thou haste made." [70]

In the latest revision of the Anglican Prayer-Book (1662) the Ash-Wednesday service appears under the same description as in 1549, and the collect which precedes the Epistle and the Gospel is in these words: "Almighty and everlasting God, who hatest nothing that Thou hast made, and dost forgive the sins of all them that are penitent; Create and make in us new and contrite hearts, that we, worthily lamenting our sins, and acknowledging our wretchedness, may obtain of Thee, the God of all mercy, perfect remission and forgiveness; through Jesus Christ, our Lord."

That same collect appears twice in the 'Book of Common Order' issued by the Church Service Society of the Church of Scotland,—once in the Morning Service for the second Sunday of the month, when it is given as a prayer "for pardon and peace," and once among "Collects for various graces," where it appears as a collect "for contrition." [71]

*Third,* THE BREVIARY. — Containing at first simply the services for the canonical hours, this compendium of Church offices gradually acquired such dimensions as to become the largest of all the service-books of the Church of Rome. Divided at one time into two portions, a summer and a winter, it was subsequently amplified into four, answering to the seasons of the year, and in its completed form it furnishes for each day of the year appropriate prayers, psalms, and hymns, the Scripture lessons, lections from the

[70] "The First Prayer-Book of King Edward VI.," 1549.—'The Anct. and Mod. Lib. of Theolog. Lit.,' p. 265.

[71] 'Εὐχολόγιον. A Book of Common Order:' issued by The Church Service Society. Edin.: W. Blackwood & Sons. Pp. 61, xxxvi.

writings of the fathers, with legends of the saints and martyrs.[72] That Anglo-Roman breviaries found their way into Scotland as well as missals cannot be doubted. For in the judgment of the Privy Council upon Chepman's complaint already referred to, among the books alleged to have been imported mention is made expressly of "portuiss." The original of that word is the Latin *portiforium*, a term as old as *breviarium*, and applied to the service-book in question as being portable, although gradually the original meaning was departed from. From *portiforium* there came through the French the terms *portesse*, *portous*, applied to a breviary, with *portuiss* for the Scottish form.[73]

The patent granted by King James and his Council in 1507 makes it very clear why they prohibited the importation of service-books printed abroad, and gave a monopoly to certain Scottish printers in the matter of producing and publishing. The intention was not so much to benefit two enterprising Edinburgh burgesses, as to aid the undertaking of a favourite Scottish bishop who had drawn up a breviary of his own, and was desirous it should be brought into general use. And so these "loving servants of the king," Chepman & Myllar, are encouraged to print "mess-bukis and portuiss efter the use of our Realme, with addicions and legendis of Scottis Sanctis . . . as is now gaderit and ekit be ane Reverend fader in God, and our traist consalour Williame bischope of Abirdene,

[72] Each part of the Breviary—*Hiemalis*, *Vernalis*, *Æstivalis*, *Autumnalis*—contains four divisions—(1) *Psalterium*, (2) *Proprium de tempore*, (3) *Proprium Sanctorum*, (4) *Commune Sanctorum*. The history of the Roman Breviary from the time of Pope Damasus to that of Pope Urban VIII. is lucidly given by Addis and Arnold, 'Cath. Dict.,' *ut sup.* Unprofessional Protestant readers will find interesting information as to the formation and contents of the Breviary in two popularly written works—(1) 'The Bible, the Missal, and the Breviary,' by Rev. G. Lewis: Edin., 1853. (2) 'The Roman Breviary; A Critical and Historical Review,' by C. H. Collette: London, 1880.

[73] In 1403 Robert III. granted to the Bishop of Aberdeen the ecclesiastical treasures of the Bishop of St Andrews, which had fallen to the Crown by the death of the latter. *Inter alia*, these movables contained *unum magnum Portiforium*.—'Concilia Scotiæ,' The Editor's Preface, p. ciii, n. 2.

and utheris."[74] The native bishop thus named was William Elphinstone,—"the saintly and munificent Elphinstone," as he has been justly styled by a Scottish archæologist.[75] This northern prelate was essentially an organiser and a reformer. Bridging the river Dee, restoring the fabric of his cathedral, reforming his clergy, and improving church music,—these were with him matters of endeavour, and of at least partial accomplishment. His greatest undertaking, however, was undoubtedly that which associates his name with Scotland's first printing-press—the compiling of the famous Aberdeen Breviary of 1509-10. Of this *magnum opus* only four copies have survived the lapse of time and the wear and tear of constant use—all four being more or less defective. As the result, however, of a painstaking and skilful collation of these imperfect copies, a facsimile reprint was issued in 1854, which forms a splendid specimen of scholarly editing and exact printing.[76] The reprint, like the original, consists of two volumes. In the first volume is the "Pars Hyemalis," containing a Calendar, Table of Feasts, Psalter, Temporale, and Proprium Sanctorum. Volume second contains "Pars Æstivalis," and it also has a Calendar, Psalter, the Proper of the seasons, and the Proper of the Saints.[77]

[74] The patent of James IV. to Chepman & Myllar, and the complaint of the former regarding an infringement of the same, are given in Appendix No. I. to 'Memorial for the Bible Society in Scotland,' drawn up by Principal Lee in 1824; also in 'Annals of Scottish Printing,' see n. 62.

[75] Joseph Robertson in Pref. to 'Concilia Scotiæ,' p. cxxv. A genial appreciative sketch of the life and career of Bishop Elphinstone is given by Professor C. Innes in the second chapter of his 'Sketches of Early Scotch History.'

[76] The reprint was edited by the Rev. W. Blew, M.A., and published by James Toovey, London. An impression having been thrown off in 1855 for the Bannatyne Club, Dr David Laing furnished it with a preface, in separate form, which has all the characteristic excellences of that book-hunter's workmanship.

[77] The references to the Aberdeen Breviary in Dr J. H. Burton's 'Hist. of Scot.' are regrettably inaccurate. In vol. i. chap. viii. p. 264 (n.) of 2d edition there are three errors: (1) Chepman's name is given as "Chapman"; (2) "only *two* copies" of the work are said to be "known to be in existence";

The title-page of the first volume happily exists in the Edinburgh University copy, otherwise defective, and runs thus:—

"The winter section of the Breviary of Aberdeen, principally according to the use and practice of the very famous Church of the Scots: concerning Season and Saints, and the Davidic psalter, suitably divided over week-days: along with Invitatories, hymns, Antiphons, chapters, Responses, hours, week-day commemorations throughout the course of the year, as also the common service of saints and of very many virgins and matrons, and the legends of diverse saints, which formerly floated about vaguely in scattered form: with a Kalendar and perpetual table of the movable feasts, and various other adjuncts added from new source, and exceedingly necessary for priests. Printed in the town of Edinburgh at the charges of Walter Chepman, merchant, on the 13th of February, in the year of our salvation and of grace, the ninth over and above the thousandth and five hundredth" (1509).[78]

The colophon or inscription at the end of the second volume has also escaped destruction, and as it contains some new matter, the opening and closing paragraphs may be here translated:—

"Praise be to God by whose grace this present little work has reached its close [namely, that] of the summer section of the Breviary of the Divine Offices for the Season and for the Saints. . . . By the Reverend father in Christ, William, Bishop of Aberdeen: collected with special care and very great labour, not only for general use in his own church of Aberdeen, but also for that of the whole church of Scotland."[79]

The Aberdeen Breviary does not materially differ from other service-books of that class, and so does not call for

(3) the printing is stated to have been "in the year 1500"; while in vol. iii. chap. xxxvii. p. 328, it is stated to have been issued, "*as we have seen*, in the year 1550."

[78] The original Latin, freed from the contractions with which it abounds, also the above translation, are given in 'Annals of Scottish Printing' (chap. x. pp. 87, 88), with a beautiful facsimile in colours of the title-page.

[79] Ibid., pp. 94, 95.

detailed treatment. As the patent of King James and its own title-page would lead us to expect, the portion of the work which has national interest is that which contains, in the lections, the legends of Scottish saints.

It would be impossible to enter into these at any length. It may suffice if we glance at those lections bearing for the most part on such saints as have already been mentioned, and translate the prayers founded upon the legends narrated.

Of St Columba, confessor and abbot, the incidents recorded of his birth, childhood, boyhood, and later years are all such as are to be found in Adamnan's life of his predecessor, and so need not be here reproduced. To him—described as "the holy father Columba, descended of noble parentage, a man of venerable life and of happy memory, a father and a founder of monasteries"—this invocation is addressed: "O happy Columba, an advocate for the needy, cleanse us from our grievous faults,—us, who are afflicted by our offences against heaven, and crushed by trouble; and be thou our strongest tower." An *oratio* follows this invocation, couched in the following terms: "Breathe into our hearts, O Lord, we beseech thee, the desire of heavenly glory; and grant that on our right hands we may carry thither the maniples of righteousness; where with Thee, as a golden star, the holy Abbot Columba shines." [80]

In the eighth century, if not earlier, the county of Fife was favoured with the miracle-working presence of a bishop and confessor, with the Latin name Servanus, but in the Scottish nomenclature Serf, and in the Irish Serb. To him there is assigned in the Breviary of Elphinstone the 1st of July as his commemoration-day, and in the first lection under that date it is affirmed of the east-coast saint that he had derived his

[80] 'Brev. Aberdon.,' vol. ii. Prop. Sanct., fol. cii., 9th June. Also in 'The Legends and Commemorative Celebrations of St Kentigern, his Friends and Disciples: Edin., 1872.

origin from the nation of the Scots, lived under the rite and form of the primitive Church till the arrival of the blessed father Palladius, the bishop, who had been sent by the blessed Pope Celestine for the purpose of converting the nation of the Scots, and who appointed Servanus his suffragan for the whole nation of the Scots, seeing Palladius found himself unable to dispense the mysteries to so great a nation without assistance. In some of the subsequent lections very wonderful things are told of Servanus, of which the following may be taken as specimens. On one occasion, when going round homesteads, castles, and villages, sowing the seed of the Lord's Word, it happened that he and his clergy were lodged with a certain poor man, who, ascribing unmeasured praises to God for guests so distinguished, killed his one only pig for the refection of the holy men. The holy Servanus, moved with piety [*ex pietate*], restored the pig, and the poor man found it alive in its sty. Once upon a time, states another lection, the devil tempted the blessed Servanus with diverse questions in the cave of Dysart; but, confounded by the divine virtue, he went away; and from that day the demon has appeared to no one in that cave. The devil, seeing from these things that he could prevail in no wise against the holy man, endeavoured to do serious mischief, where that was within his power. He therefore entered into a certain miserable man, and bestowed upon him so prodigious an appetite that he could not by any means be satisfied. But Servanus put his thumb into the man's mouth, and the devil, terrified and roaring horribly, set him free. In lection eight the following story finds a place: A certain robber, having stolen a sheep which had been domesticated in the house of Servanus, killed it, and ate a part of it. By-and-by, when diligent search was made for the missing animal, the suspected robber hastened to the holy man, and, wishing to justify himself on the staff or crosier, swore a great oath, declaring his innocence. A wonderful thing fol-

lowed. The sheep which had just been eaten spoke vocally out by bleating in the thief's throat! Whereupon the robber, confounded, prostrated himself on the earth, pitiably imploring forgiveness, and the holy man besought the Lord for him.

The prayer for the day of Servanus is in these words: "O God, who, for the salvation of the human race, hast made the blessed Servanus illustrious by wonderful miracles, we beseech Thee that, through his benignant intercession, the chains of our sins being loosed, Thou wouldst bestow upon us the heavenly kingdom." [81]

Columba and Servanus have figured at an earlier stage of this survey: let us close with a Scottish saint not hitherto named, but who has an honourable place assigned him, as bishop and confessor, in the Aberdeen Breviary. In times considerably nearer our own than those we have been dealing with, the Bass Rock, in the mouth of the Firth of Forth, had honourable associations with Covenanting struggles and sufferings. It had also to do with the hagiology of Scotland in the beginning of the seventh century. For on this exposed mass of rock, rising sheer out of the waters, is said to have lived Sanctus Baltherus, the St Baldred of the Scots. This meditative man, at one time a suffragan of the blessed Kentigern, and associated with the Lothians, is stated, in the first lection devoted to him, to have renounced all the pomp of the world and vain care of the same, and following, as far as he could, the divine John, dwelt in solitary deserts and sequestered places, and betook himself to islands of the sea. Leading such a kind of life, Baldred had no great need nor scope for the exercise of miraculous powers. But one forthputting of supernatural power is mentioned in lection fourth in the following terms: A rock huge and lofty stood in the middle of the passage between the island of the Bass and the nearest land, opposing itself to ships as an impediment,

[81] 'Brev. Aberdon.,' vol. i., Prop. Sanct., fol. xv., 1st July.

occasionally causing shipwreck. Out of pity for others, Baldred appointed himself to be set on the said rock. When this had been done, that rock, at his nod, was straightway pulled up from its submarine fastenings, and, like a boat impelled by a favourable wind, approached the nearest shore; and till now it remains there in memory of this miracle, and even at this day is called the tomb or the cock-boat of the blessed Baldred.

The hermit saint of the Bass had special charge of three churches in the neighbouring parishes of Auldhame, Tyninghame, and Prestonkirk, in Haddingtonshire. When the frailties of old age overtook him, he went to the first-named parish, and there, "in a certain cottage of his parish minister, on the day before the nones of March, with all patience and alacrity and compunction of heart, bidding his flock farewell with much prayer, he commended his soul to the Lord." [82] What ensued when tidings of his death reached the parishioners of the three churches must be told in the language of the Aberdeen lectionary:—

"They assembled in three bands at the place of the most sweet body of Baldred; and they, by turns, with the utmost eagerness demanded the body, and urgently begged that him whom they had for their teacher on earth they might, by showing him due reverence, have for their pious intercessor in the heavens. When they were unable to agree among themselves, on the advice of a certain old man they left the body unburied during the night, and all separately betook themselves to prayers, that the glorious God Himself would, of His grace, send them some sign indicating on which church the body of the holy man should be conferred. But when it was morning, a thing not often to be heard of is prepared. The scattered parishioners, assembling as at first, found three similar bodies laid out with similar pomp of funereal solemnities; for which miracle they gave thanks with the greatest gladness to Almighty God and the blessed Baldred; and singing and playing, each parish having lifted up one body with its bier, carried it with all reverence

[82] Lect. v.

away to their own church, and placed it honourably there, and to this day the bodies are held in the greatest honour and reverence, and venerated accordingly."[83]

The *oratio* for the day of the east-country miracle-worker is in these terms: "O God, who through the contemplative life of the blessed Baldred, Thy bishop and confessor, hast conferred ineffable grace on Thy servants, grant, we beseech Thee, that, by his merits and intercessions, we may be able to obtain in all things the saving help of Thy mercy."[84]

Had our limits permitted, it would have been interesting to supplement the foregoing with detailed information bearing upon the consecration, dedication, and reconciliation[85] of churches and chapels, altars and burying-grounds, in Scotland during the period now reviewed. David de Bernham, Bishop of St Andrews in the thirteenth century, was specially active in this department of ecclesiastical function. The record of his work still exists in a manuscript enriching the treasures of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, where it is catalogued 'Pontificale Anglicanum,' and numbered "Fonds Latin, No. 1218." The list of buildings which this dignitary consecrated with divine service was printed by Joseph Robertson in 1866,[86] and the Pontifical itself was in 1885 edited and published at Edinburgh.[87] Quite recently interest has been revived and extended in David de Bernham and his career by the appearance of a scholarly monograph from the pen of

[83] Lect. vi. For further information regarding the east-country hermit and his three parishes, see 'The Churches of Saint Baldred.' By A. J. Ritchie. Edin.: 1883.

[84] 'Brev. Aberdon.,' vol. ii., Prop. Sanct., fol. lxiii., 29th March.

[85] In ecclesiastical nomenclature, a consecrated building requires reconciliation when it has been desecrated by some crime being committed within its precincts. Thus on the 15th of April 1542 the Church of the Holy Trinity, at Berwick, was "reconciled *post effusionem sanguinis*," occasioned by a deadly quarrel which took place between two "scolocs," or *clerici scholares*.

[86] 'Concilia Scotiæ,' Pref., Appendix, p. xxxii. "Hee sunt Ecclesie quas dedicauit Episcopus Dauid," pp. ccxcviii-ccciii.

[87] 'Pontificale Ecclesiæ S. Andreæ.' Edin.: Pitsligo Press.

a minister of the Church of Scotland, which gives good promise of further work in the department of Scottish archæological research.[88]

As there seems to be in some quarters a desire to revert to old usages and vestments in connection with the opening of church structures, it may interest some readers to find in the Appendix some of the outstanding passages of the 'Pontificale,' while a wider circle may scan the list of parish churches in the dedicating of which this service-book was employed.[89]

How burdensome, wearisome, and unprofitable all the services of Missal, Breviary, and Pontifical became, alike to those who rendered them and to those who were simply auditors of what had to them no meaning, it would be hard to estimate. Whatever may be said about the laxity of morals among "the spiritualitie" and the licentiousness of the laity, in causing the middle ages to be a period of moral darkness and spiritual death, these, it will be admitted, were the concomitants of public worship mechanically gone through, and from which all heart and life had fled. Readers of Tennysonian poetry are familiar with his "Northern Farmer, Old Style," and will remember the dying man's words about church and parson. Before his wife's death—so he reminisced—he always went to church: there he heard the parson bumming away like a cockchafer over his head; he never knew what the men at the reading-desk or in the pulpit meant, neither did it occur to him that he had any business to know. He supposed parson had something to say, and that he said what he ought. When the bumming was over, the hearer came away, and that

[88] 'The Church of Scotland in the Thirteenth Century.' The Life and Times of David de Bernham of St Andrews (Bishop), A.D. 1239 to 1253. With List of Churches dedicated by him, and dates. By William Lockhart, A.M., F.S.A. Scot., and Minister of Colinton Parish, Mid-Lothian. W. Blackwood & Sons, Edin. and Lond.: 1889.

[89] Appendix C to this volume.

was an end of divine service.[90] It is safe to say there were many northern farmers of still older style than that of the dying pagan described by the Poet Laureate, who never knew nor cared to know what priest or preacher said, to whom the whole service came to be a waste of time, a weariness to the flesh, an infliction to be avoided as often as it possibly could.

Happily for Scotland, a better day was about to dawn, a day which preceded and prepared men for the advent of the era of the Reformation, when the public worship of the land became a life and a power, being brought back to the spontaneity and simplicity of Scripture warrant and apostolic institution.

[90] "An' I hallus comed to 's choorch afoor my Sally wur deäd,
An' 'eerd un a bummin' awaäy loike a buzzard-clock ower my zeäd,
An' I niver knaw'd whot a meän'd, but I thowt a 'ad summut to saäy,
An' I thowt a said whot a owt to 'a said, an' I comed awaäy."
—'Enoch Arden,' &c.

# PERIOD II.

## RITUAL REVISION.

FROM the year 1225 until 1559 the government of the Scottish Church was in the hands of its Provincial Councils. No stronger proof of the corruption and decay which had overtaken that Church can be drawn from any quarter than is to be found in the canons of these councils. Aiming, as many of them did, at correcting the abuses with which the Scottish clergy were chargeable, they served only the more widely and loudly to proclaim these abuses.

As confirmatory of this statement, at a General Convention and Provincial Council which assembled in the Blackfriars' Church at Edinburgh on the 27th November 1549, and was presided over by the Archbishop of St Andrews, who styled himself "Primate of all Scotland and Legate Natus,"[1] the sixty-eight statutes then approved of and ratified contain in explicit terms the admission that the flagitious lives and the gross ignorance of the Scottish clergy were the root and cause of all the troubles and heresies which then afflicted the Church.[2] While some of those statutes were framed to arrest the progress of heresy by ordering a rigorous

[1] An enumeration of the ecclesiastical offices represented at the Convention, and a brief description of the men of any account who were present, will be found in the 'Concilia Scotiæ,' Pref., pp. cxlvii-cxlviii.

[2] 'Concil. Scot.,' pp. 81, 82, 283, 290, 292.

search to be made with a view to the detection of heretical persons, and the burning of heretical books, ballads, and poems reflecting upon the Church or the clergy,[3] not a few of them were addressed to the reformation of clerical lives and manners,[4] and others provided for the promoting of learning,[5] the restoring of discipline, the removing of ecclesiastical scandals,[6] and the more general preaching to the people.[7]

When, eighteen months later, another Provincial Council assembled in the metropolis, the confession was made that the reforming canons of 1549 were largely inoperative; that even in populous parishes the attendance when Mass was celebrated and sermons were preached was scandalously small; that in time of service jesting and irreverence were indulged in within the church, while sports were going on and business being transacted in the porch and the churchyard.[8] In the new canons of 1551-52 not only was provision made for the immediate enforcement of former statutes, but instructions were issued that the names of all absentees from divine service be taken down by the officiating curate and reported to the rural dean, and that all gatherings within ecclesiastical precincts, whether for sport or traffic, be forbidden alike on Sundays and other holidays, during public worship.[9] Further, to meet what is freely confessed, the inability of the inferior clergy, and even of the prelates, either to inform or reform the people, this same Council took steps

[3] 'Concil. Scot.,' pp. 117, 118, 294, *et passim.*

[4] Ibid., pp. 118, 294.

[5] Thus, *inter alia*, provision was made in the canons of 1549 for teaching grammar, divinity, and canon law in cathedrals and abbeys, and for sending from every monastery one or more monks to a university.—Ibid., pp. 95-97, 100-102, 104, 105, 287-290, also 102-104.

[6] The clergy were enjoined to put away their concubines and to dismiss from their houses the children born to them in concubinage; while prelates were admonished not to keep in their households drunkards, gamblers, whoremongers, brawlers, night-walkers, buffoons, blasphemers, or profane swearers. —Ibid., pp. 86-88, 284, 301, 302, also 91, 286.

[7] Ibid., pp. 95, 96, 97-100, *et passim.*

[8] Ibid., p. 128.

[9] Ibid., pp. 131, 132, 297, 298.

for the preparation and publication of a popular exposition of Catholic doctrine and ritual, written in the Scottish vernacular of the sixteenth century, and revised by the wisest and most learned divines and churchmen of the realm. The intention was that portions of the work should be read to congregations "before High Mass, when there was no sermon; as much as would occupy half an hour being read from the pulpit every Sunday and holiday, with a loud voice, clearly, distinctly, impressively, solemnly, by the rector, vicar, or curate in surplice and stole."[10] Although designed for the instruction of the laity, the book when published was not to be given indiscriminately to lay persons, but only to such as the Ordinary might approve of; and the public reading of it was not to be made the occasion of controversy during service. And in order that their reading of what would soon be in their hands might be effective and instructive, the clergy were enjoined to have daily practisings, and thus guard against such stammering or breaking down as would certainly expose them to the ridicule of their hearers."[11]

In August of the same year, 1552, seven months after the meeting of Council, the book was published at St Andrews,[12] and purported to be 'The Catechism; that is to say, a common and Catholic instruction of the Christian people in matters of our Catholic faith and religion, which no good Christian man or woman should be ignorant of.'

After the preface, the table of contents, and a prologue, the

[10] "And thairfor everilk Sonday and principal halydaie, *quhen thair cummis na prechcour to tham* to schaw thame the word of God, to have this Catechisme usit and reid to thame in steid of preching, quhil [until] God of his gudnes provide ane sufficient nowmer of Catholyk and abil precheouris, quhilk sal be within few yeiris as we traist in God, to quhom be honour and glore for evir. Amen."—Pref. to Hamilton's Catechism.

[11] 'Concil. Scot.,' pp. 135-139, 299.

[12] "Prentit at Sanct Androus be the command and expensis of the maist reverend father in God Johne Archbischop of Sanct Androus, and primat of the hail kirk of Scotland, the xxix day of August the yeir of our Lord MDLII." —The Colophon.

work, commonly known as 'The Catechism of John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews,' gives an exposition of the Ten Commandments, of the twelve articles of the Creed, of the seven Sacraments, and of the Lord's Prayer. Then follow a preface to, and a brief exposition of, all the words contained in the *Ave Maria*. These are succeeded by the proposing and answering of two questions: First, To whom should we pray? the answer being, "To God only as giver of all grace and goodness; also to good men and women on earth, and specially to saints and angels in heaven as intercessors to God for us." Second, For whom should we pray? which has for answer, "For all Christian men and women, who have need of our prayers, not only for them that are living, but also for all Christian souls which are in Purgatory and may be helped by our prayers." The mention of this "place in which," according to the teaching of the Church of Rome, "souls who depart this life in the grace of God suffer for a time," leads to the compilers of the Catechism engaging in an explanation and defence of the affirmation relative to Purgatory, founded upon the alleged teaching of our Saviour, the apostle Paul, and the Fathers of the Church.

The book concludes with an epilogue addressed first to vicars and curates, to whom will fall the reading of the foregoing publicly, urging them to pay attention to the errata affixed, so that their reading may be to the edification of their hearers; then to all parsons who have the cure of souls, exhorting them to preach and teach sincerely the evangel of God, and not to use the book so as to foster presumption, or make it the occasion of negligence or idleness; and, lastly, to Christian people, who are urged to "hear, understand, and keep in remembrance the holy words of God, which in this present Catechism are truly and Catholicly expounded for their spiritual edification." [13]

[13] In recent years there have been two reprints of Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism. First, a facsimile black-letter edition, published at Edinburgh,

Passing over the teaching of Hamilton's Catechism on such matters as the immaculate conception of Mary and baptismal regeneration, and finding a place in the Appendix for eight purely Scottish prayers "made upon" the invocation and the petitions of the *Pater Noster*, and which are of unique interest and value,[14] we give the substance of that chapter in which the ceremonies used in the administration of infant baptism are set forth, as from such a summary there may be gathered both an idea of the style of the entire work, and also some acquaintance with the elaborate ritual of baptism as administered in the pre-Reformation Church of Scotland. After a prefatory statement in which a comparison is drawn between a wise mother who feeds her young tender child with milk and soft meats, and "our mother the holy kirk," who uses certain ceremonies not only for the honest and reverent ministration of the sacraments, but also for the instruction of the recipients and spectators thereof, the Catechism goes on to state what falls to be done by the minister when the infant is brought to the church.

His duty is to meet the child at the church door, and make over him an exorcism. In doing so he, *first*, blows upon him, in token that the evil spirit, by the power of God, shall be expelled and have no power to annoy him, and that the Holy Spirit shall dwell in him as guardian and governor.

*Second*, He makes the sign of the cross upon the child's brow and breast, to signify that he is to be made a Christian man, and that he should all the days of his life "lippen in

1882, with "The Twopenny Faith" of 1559 subjoined, and Historical Notice by Professor Mitchell of St Andrews. Of this book the value would have been greater had the typographical errors, for which the Professor is in no way responsible, been fewer. Second, an edition by the Clarendon Press in 1884, edited, with Introduction and Glossary, by T. G. Law, Librarian of Signet Library, Edinburgh, with a Preface by W. E. Gladstone, D.C.L. See also Note Y, "Of the Catechism commonly called Archbishop Hamilton's"—M'Crie's 'Life of Knox,' pp. 345-349, Un. ed. of 1855.

[14] Appendix D to this volume.

Christ Jesus, that for him was crucified, and that he should never be ashamed openly to confess himself a Christian man."

*Third*, The minister puts salt in the child's mouth, which betokens that his words should ever be seasoned with the spiritual salt of wisdom and discretion, and that he should keep himself from the corruption and ill-savour of deadly sin.

*Fourth*, The minister reads the evangel which mentions that young children were brought to our Saviour Jesus, to signify that Christian men and women may lawfully offer children to our Saviour Christ, and bring them to the sacrament of baptism, because our Saviour said, "Suffer young children to come to me."

*Fifth*, When this is done the godfathers and godmothers lay their hand upon the child, and say the Creed and the *Pater Noster*, and in so doing they represent the whole Kirk of God, which offers that child to our Saviour Christ, and receives it to her faith.

*Sixth*, After this the minister takes his spittle and anoints the child's nostrils [15] and ears, to signify that a Christian man should have a sweet savour — that is to say, a good name and fame—that he may be called a good Christian, and also that he have always his ears open to hear the Word of God.

After the exorcism is ended the child is brought to the font, and when the name is given to him by the mouth of the godfather and godmother, there is a renouncing of the devil and all his works. First, the minister says, "Renouncest thou the devil?" The godfather and godmother answer for the bairn, saying, "I renounce." The minister inquires again, "Renouncest thou all the works of the devil?" They answer again, "I renounce." The minister inquires the

[15] "The sext, eftir this the minister takis his spattel and unctis the barnis neysthirles," &c.

third time, "Renouncest thou all his pomp, all vanities and glory of this world, pride, excess, inordinate lust and pleasure?" They answer the third time, saying, "I renounce."

This being done, the child that is to be baptised is anointed with holy oil upon his breast, to signify that his heart is consecrated to God, and that his mind is comforted in the faith of Christ. Also he is anointed between his shoulders, to signify that God gives him strength to do good deeds, to bear the yoke of Christ by observance of His commands, to help his neighbour for God's sake in doing the deeds of charity. When the anointing is completed, there follows "a Catechism—that is to say, an inquisitioun of our faith, which we ought to have of the blessed Trinity," whereto they give answer, saying three times, "I believe." Again, the minister says, "Believest thou that there is a holy Church? remission of sins? rising up again of the flesh, and eternal life after death?" The answer is made by the godfathers and godmothers on the child's behalf, "I believe." When the child after this manner has professed and confessed his faith, the minister inquires at him, saying, "Wilt thou be baptised?" They answer again, "I will." This signifies "that no man can be saved but by consent of his free will, moved by grace, and called by the word of God."

Then forthwith the child is baptised in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. In some countries, the compilers state, they dip the child three times in the water of the font, and in other countries they lave or pour water on the child thrice. Which of these uses is followed it matters not, for baptism is administered either way.

When the child is baptised, he is anointed with chrism upon the forehead, and that betokens plainly that he is then made a Christian man, receiving his name from Christ, and evermore to be in reality and so to be named Christ's man, Christ's servant, or Christ's knight.

Last of all, the child that is baptised is clothed with a

white linen cloth called a cude,[16] which betokens that he is "clean washed from all his sins, that he is brought into the liberty of the Holy Spirit, that he should live an innocent life all his days, until he come to the judgment-seat of our Saviour. And finally, a lighted torch or candle is given to him in his hand, which betokens that he should live so perfectly after the Evangel of Christ, that he may give the light of good example to his neighbour, that through him God may be glorified."

The closing paragraph of the chapter is occupied with an answer to the question, Who is the minister of baptism? We give the answer in full:—

"The minister of this sacrament should be a priest, having ordinary authority—a man of laudable life. Nevertheless, when he administers baptism or any other sacrament, we should take no notice of his life, whether it be laudable or unlaudable. For truly it is not man who gives, but Christ our Saviour gives the effect of baptism, and the priest is only the minister of baptism under Christ. And when he says 'I baptise thee,' it is as much as to say, I represent Christ as His minister, and not in my merits, but only in the merits of Christ, I minister to thee this holy sacrament. And whenever it chances that the child cannot be brought conveniently to a priest, and there is reason to fear the child is in peril of death, then all men and women may be ministers of baptism, if so be that, when they lay water upon the child, they therewith pronounce the words of baptism with which the Kirk intends that sacrament to be ministered."[17]

To the canons of only one more Provincial Council—the last of its order ever held in Scotland—is it needful to refer.

Summoned at the instance of Mary of Guise, the Queen-

[16] Cude, code, a white linen cloth in which a child was wrapped at baptism. From *cudd-io*, to cover.

> "I pray God and the halie Rude,
> He had bene smoird into his cude."
> —"Commoun Thift" in 'Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis' of Sir David Lyndsay.

[17] Part iii. cap. iv., "Quha is the minister of Baptyme," pp. 192, 193. Clarendon Press edition.

Regent, by authority of the Archbishop of St Andrews, with consent of the Archbishop of Glasgow, this General Provincial Council met in the monastery of the Black Friars, Edinburgh, in January 1558-59, and did not break up till the 10th of April.

The Queen-Regent's interest in this ecclesiastical gathering arose from the fact that there had been submitted to her articles of reformation drawn up by certain nobles and barons of Scotland who professed loyalty to the national Church, but whose very loyalty led them to seek the correction of abuses and the removal of scandals. These articles touched upon the ungodly and dissolute lives of the prelates and the inferior clergy, and urged that all churchmen should be required to abstain from manifest sins and notorious offences; they plead for more preaching, asking for a sermon in every parish church on every Sunday and holiday of the calendar—at the least on Christmas-day, Easter-day, Whitsunday, and every third or fourth Lord's Day; and they desiderated an improvement in the quality of the preaching, insisting that no one be allowed to enter a pulpit without satisfactory evidence having been furnished regarding his creed, conduct, and culture; and that no vicar or curate be appointed to a cure of souls who was not sufficiently qualified to administer the sacraments and read Hamilton's Catechism plainly and distinctly to his people.

Waxing bolder in their demands, the petitioners asked that expositions of the sacraments should be published for the instruction of the laity; and, while not venturing to propose any change in the language of the Mass, they expressed the conviction that the common prayers and litanies should be said in the speech of the people in all parish churches, the same to hold good of the afternoon or evening prayers.[18]

[18] The articles of reformation are given in the 'Concilia' of Wilkins, vol. iv. pp. 207, 208, and in the 'Concilia Scotiæ,' pp. 146-151, 299, 301. They are

This Roman Catholic Claim of Right was remitted by the Queen-Regent to the Provincial Council, and a large number of the thirty-four statutes passed by that ecclesiastical Convention of 1559 were of the nature of answers to the demands it contained.

The Council at once passed stringent canons for reforming the lives and manners of the clergy, and it both ratified and extended the statutes of former Councils anent preaching and the qualifications of preachers. Steps were also taken with a view to the immediate publishing of brief popular expositions of the sacraments, to be read distinctly by the priest in public before administration, although only one of these has been preserved—that, viz., which expounds the sacrifice of the Mass, and which, from the price at which it was sold, was known as "The Twopenny Faith."[19]

described by Dr M'Crie as "a remonstrance by certain persons attached to the Roman Catholic faith" ('Life of Knox,' Period vi. p. 123; Un. ed.); by Joseph Robertson as "remarkable Articles of Reformation . . . submitted . . . by certain laymen, nobles, and barons not disaffected to the Church, but solicitous for the correction of its abuses" ('Con. Scot.,' Pref., p. clvi); and by Prof. Grub as embodying "the wishes of the large party among the laity who were well affected to the Church, but who were anxious for the correction of abuses" ('Eccles. Hist. of Scot.,' vol. ii. chap. xxxi. p. 56). Some writers question whether these articles are, after all, distinct from "The First Oratioun and Petitioun of the Protestantes of Scotland" as given by Knox, 'Works,' vol. i. pp. 302-306. So English editor of Bellesheim's 'Scot. Ch.,' vol. ii. p. 243, n.

[19] The 18th canon of the Council of 1559 begins thus: "Insuper, ut populus Christianus sacramentorum ecclesiæ verum effectum, vim, ac usum facilius ac commodius intelligere valeat, statuit hoc præsens Concilium *quasdam Catholicas exhortationes*, easque succinctas declarationes sacramentorum baptismi," &c. Writing in 1846, Dr D. Laing stated that of these Catholic exhortations none is known to be preserved; but in 1855, when editing the third vol. of the 'Bannatyne Miscellany,' he was able to state that one had been discovered, which he had permission to reproduce in facsimile. The "Exhortation" is also given in the 'Concilia Scotiæ,' p. 177; and it is reproduced in the Edinburgh reprint of Hamilton's Catechism, Laing's introduction to the Bannatyne reprint being appropriated verbatim without acknowledgment. According to Dr Laing, "the derisive title, 'The Twa-penny Faith,' was derived from Archbishop Hamilton allowing the pedlars to take two pennies for their pains in hawking it abroad. The sum of twopence, or the sixth part of

Other canons were framed and passed bearing upon preaching in every parish church oftener than four times in the year, as heretofore; upon instructing the people as to the worship and invocation of the saints; and upon the rebaptising of children to whom the sacrament had been improperly or defectively administered.[20]

One point of importance raised in the Articles of Reformation the Scottish prelates and clerics, unable altogether to avoid, endeavoured to evade. The request that the common prayers should be rendered in language intelligible by the common people[21] was met with the deliverance that every man in his private devotions might use what language he pleased, but that it was beyond the power of any Provincial Council to change the order of public prayer so long observed by the Catholic Church.[22]

The Provincial Council of 1559 brought its proceedings to a close by appointing another to meet in the same place on Septuagesima Sunday, being the 11th of February 1559-60.

"But," in the exact language of the editor of the 'Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ,' "the Synod thus summoned never assembled. Before the day fixed for its meeting the Reforma-

one shilling Scottish money, was equivalent to the sixth part of one penny sterling." Knox mentions the publication as the doing of the Scottish bishops: "And that thei mycht geve some schaw to the People that thei mynded Reformatioun, thei sparsed abrod a rumor thairof, and sett furth somewhat in print, which of the People was called 'The Twa-penny Fayth.'" —'Works,' vol. i. p. 291. A copy of the original Exhortation is now at Blairs College, Aberdeen.

[20] The formula of this conditional baptism began in these terms: "Si tu es baptizatus, ego non te baptizo: sed si non es baptizatus, ego te baptizo, in nomine Patris," &c.

[21] The Articles of Reformation asked, *inter alia*, that there should be sermon in every parish church on every Sunday and other holy day, or at least on Christmas-day, Easter, and Whitsunday; that the common prayers and litanies should be said in the vulgar tongue in every parish church; and that evening prayers be said in the language of the people. No change was proposed in the language of the Mass.—'Concil. Scot.,' pp. 147, 148.

[22] Ibid., p. 300.

tion had virtually triumphed: within little more than six months afterwards the ancient Church was overthrown. . . . Scotland was lost to Rome." [23]

Wellnigh a quarter of a century before the meeting of the last Provincial Council in Scotland, steps toward a revision and improvement of Church service-books had been taken in France, in Germany, and in England. In the year 1535 a Continental revisionist appeared in the person of Cardinal Quignon, General of the Franciscan Order.[24] With the sanction and at the solicitation of Pope Clement VII., this dignitary brought out a revised Breviary,[25] which was published both at Rome and at Lyons, under the auspices and patronage of Clement's successor, Paul III., and the King of France.

Although the Cardinal's revision of the services was marked by certain commendable features, foremost among which were removing a vast mass of repetitions, enlarging Scripture readings, and freeing the lessons from puerile legends of the saints, it was, after all, a measure of mild revision rather than one of radical reform. The reformers of the Church of England availed themselves of the labours of Quignon when compiling the English Prayer-book; but after receiving what was considered a fair trial, the revised Breviary of 1535 was

[23] 'Concil. Scot.,' Pref., p. clxiii. A Roman Catholic writer has, however, something to add to the above: "Three hundred and twenty-six years after the downfall of the ancient faith in Scotland, the restored hierarchy met once more in Provincial Council at Fort Augustus, under the presidency of an Archbishop of St Andrews (August 1886)."—Bellesheim's 'Hist. of the Cath. Ch. of Scot.,' translated by D. O. Hunter Blair, O.S.B., Monk of Fort Augustus, vol. ii. p. 251, n.

[24] The Cardinal's full name was Fernandez de Quiñones. He was of a noble family in Leon, a Franciscan, and Cardinal Presbyter of the title of Holy Cross.—Neale, 'Essays on Liturgiology,' p. 3.

[25] 'Breviarium Romanum nuper reformatum, in quo Sacræ Scripturæ libri, probatæq., sanctorum historiæ eleganter beneq. dispositæ leguntur.' Six editions were printed between February 1535 and July 1536. First text reprinted at Cambridge, 1888.—Proctor's 'Hist. of the Book of Common Prayer,' Pt. i. chap. ii. p. 18, n., 18th edition.

set aside at Rome under a bull of Pope Pius V., issued in 1568, and the old services, with their old blemishes, were reinstated.[26]

More important, because more thoroughgoing and more lasting in their results, were the labours of a German reformer, entered upon in the same year as that in which the French revised service-book appeared. Herman, Count de Weid, Archbishop and Prince Elector of Cologne, after his elevation to the see of Cologne in 1515,[27] took measures with a view to promoting a reformation in his diocese. One of these was the holding of what its promoter styled "a simple and religious consultation," the object of which was to determine "by what means a Christian reformation, founded in God's Word, of doctrine, administration of divine sacraments, of ceremonies, and the whole cure of souls, and other ecclesiastical ministeries, may be begun among men committed to our pastoral charge, until the Lord grant a better to be appointed, either by a free and Christian counsel, general or national, or else by the states of the empire of the nation of Germany, gathered together in the Holy Ghost."

The outcome of the consultation was the publication of a series of suggestions for the formation of services, not the actual offices themselves. While the original edition of Herman's 'Consultation' appeared in 1543,[28] a fuller one was published at Bonn in 1545.[29] This was followed by

[26] Further information regarding this reformed Breviary, and a specimen of the daily services provided for in it, will be found in 'Liturgies and Offices of the Church,' &c., by Edward Burbidge, M.A. Lond.: G. Bell & Sons, 1885. Chap. viii. pp. 254-261.

[27] Before this appointment Herman was Bishop of Paderborn, in Westphalia. For an account of this notable ecclesiastic, see Seckendorf's 'Hist. Lutheran.,' lib. iii. sect. 26, § cvii. Also Hardwick's 'Hist. of the Christ. Ch. during the Reformation,' chap. i. p. 59, n. 3.

[28] Under the following title: 'Hermanni Einfaltigs Bedencken von der Reformation. Simplex Judicium de Reformatione Ecclesiarum Electoratus Coloniensis.'

[29] 'Simplex ac Pia Deliberatio quæ Ratione Christiana Reformatio instituta sit.' Bonnæ: 1545.

an English translation printed at London in 1547, and that again by an amended edition in the subsequent year[30] —only a few months before the first Church of England Prayer-book was brought out. In addition to these two English editions of the entire 'Consultation,' an abridged form of its baptismal office, translated from the Latin, was "imprinted at London."[31]

The baptismal service of Herman, even in its English abridgment, presents several interesting features, and is certainly greatly in advance of that contained in Hamilton's Catechism, so far as ritual is concerned.

As matters are arranged in it, the catechising or instructing of parents and sponsors, as also the pronouncing of the exorcism or adjuration over the child, ought, when at all possible, to be separated from the actual administering of the ordinance, being gone through the day before the holy day or Sunday; but should parties not be able conveniently to give attendance on two successive days, then the exorcism and the instruction may be gone through together with the baptism. At the time of exorcising, after commanding all evil spirits, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to depart from the infant and to do him no hurt any manner of ways, and after making the sign of the cross with his thumb upon the forehead and breast of the child, the pastor is to say: "Take the figure of the holy cross in thy forehead, that thou never be ashamed of God and Christ thy Saviour or of His Gospel; take it also on thy breast, that the power of Christ crucified may be ever thy succour and sure protection in all things."

Upon the day of baptism the infants are to be "brought again to the congregation, a little before the supper of the

[30] 'A Simple and Religious Consultation of us Herman, by what means a Christian Reformation may be begun.' London: 1547, 1548.

[31] "By Jhon Daye and William Seves, dwellynge in Sepulchres paryshe at the singe of the Resurrection, alytle above Holbourne Conduit. Cum gratia et privilegio ad imprimendum solum."

Lord, and the pastor, after the Gospel is read and declared, and the Creed sung, shall bid them be brought to the stone font, and shall exhort the parents, the godfathers, and kinsfolk, after a manner" which is laid down.

The exhortation is to be followed by the reading of two Scripture passages and a prayer, which ended, the pastor is to require the infants to be given to him, to ask the names they are to bear, and thereafter baptise them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. As each is baptised, the godfathers are to receive the infant, the priest saying: "The almighty everlasting God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath begotten thee again with water and the Holy Ghost, and hath forgiven thee all thy sins, confirm thee with His grace, unto everlasting life. Amen."

In Herman's baptismal office provision is made for two exceptional cases. First, in the event of the child being too weak to be brought to church, the sacrament must not on that account be withheld, seeing "the Lord instituted baptism that it may be to us a sacrament of regeneration and washing of sins from which in this life no man is free, no not an infant one day old;" but pastors may administer the sacrament upon week-days, combining the catechism, exorcism, and baptism in one service, moderated and abbreviated according to the size of the company and the strength of the child. Second, directions are given for the baptising of a child so soon as born, should immediate death be apprehended. In such a case "they that be present with the child who is in danger may join themselves together in the Lord, and lift up their minds religiously unto God;" then let them "call for His mercy, promised, and exhibited in Christ Jesus our Lord, upon the infant, and when they have said the Lord's Prayer, let them baptise him in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Which done, let them not doubt but that their infant is truly baptised, washed from sins, born again in Christ, and made the son and heir of God.

. . . If any godly man be present when the infant is in extremity, let his ministry be used to baptism."

Should the child thus baptised be spared, then he must afterwards be brought "to the temple or church of his parents, kinsfolk, and godfathers," inquiry is to be made by the pastor how the lay baptism was administered, and if the answers seem to him satisfactory, the child is in no wise to be rebaptised, but an exhortation is to be addressed to those present, and the pastor, having laid his hand on the child, and saying, "The Lord be with you," evoking the response of the people, "And with thy spirit," is to pray that the Lord God "who has begotten again this infant of water and the Holy Ghost, and has given him in holy baptism remission of all sins," would "confirm the same" with His grace, and "guide and further this new life." In the event of the answers not proving satisfactory, those presenting the child admitting they do not well know what they thought or did, being sore troubled with the impending danger, then, "omitting curious disputations," the pastor must judge such an infant to be not yet baptised, and is to do "all those things that pertain to this ministration." [32]

With all that is doctrinally objectionable in this baptismal liturgy of the Archbishop of Cologne there are elements of simplicity, piety, and reverence which evidence the working of a reforming spirit, moving on Scriptural lines. One pleasing provision in the rubrics of the baptism service must not pass unnoticed, after our reference to the same matter in the Scottish articles of reformation in 1559. The singing during the service is to be congregational, and in the language of the singers. Thus at the close of the service, when the pastor has said, "The peace of the Lord be with you," and the

[32] 'The Order of Baptism, both public and private, according to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland: Illustrated from the "Use of Salisbury"; the "Religious Consultation of Herman, Archbishop of Cologne;" and the sentiments of the compilers and revisers of the Book of Common Prayer.' By the Rev. T. M. Fallow, A.M. London: 1838. Pp. 26-54.

congregation have uttered their Amen, there comes this direction: "*Here let the whole congregation sing in Dutch,* Now all thanks, &c., *or the Psalme,* God be merciful unto us. *Then lette the pastour go forth in the ministration of the Lordes Supper.*"[33] And this congregational vernacular singing is not confined in Herman's 'Consultation' to the baptismal service. It has a place in the suggestions "how the Lord's Supper must be celebrated." After Confession and Absolution there comes this rubric: "*The Clerks shall then sing something in Latin out of Holy Scripture, for an* Entrance *or* Beginning. *After which* Kyrie Eleison *and* Gloria in excelsis, *and let the people* sing both in Dutch."[34] Then, in the same sacramental service, after the Epistle, the Gospel, the Sermon, "a prayer for all states of men and necessities of the congregation," the Creed, "to be sung by the whole congregation, during which the faithful are to offer their oblations every man according to the blessing which he hath received of God," the Preface, the Sanctus, this direction follows: "*Then the Priest shall sing the words of the Lord's Supper in Dutch,* Our Lord the night in which He was delivered, &c. *These words must be sung with great reverence, and plainly. And the people shall say to these words,* Amen, *which all the old Church observed, and the Greeks do yet observe the same.*"[35]

Meeting with hearty co-operation from Melanchthon and Martin Bucer, consulted and corresponded with by Cranmer in England,[36] Herman von Wied experienced the fate of too

[33] Fallow, *ut sup.*, p. 49.

[34] *I.e.*, in German. "This is of great interest, for it set the example of using the vulgar tongue in Church services, though the confusion of the two languages here suggested would have been intolerable."—Burbidge, *ut sup.*, chap. vi. p. 191, n.

[35] Burbidge, *ut sup.*, p. 192.

[36] "Cranmer corresponded with Herman, and interested the King's Council in his behalf; and it cannot be doubted that his book was much employed by the commission assembled at Windsor in the compilation of their new form of Common Prayer."—Cardwell's 'Two Liturgies of Ed. VI.,' 1852. Pref., p. xvi.

many reformers before and at the Reformation. He fell under the suspicion of heresy;[37] struggled for a time against the papal excommunication launched in 1546; was ultimately deposed; and died in retirement, August 13, 1552.

In England symptoms of the desire for a revision of Church service-books first manifested themselves in the preparation and circulation of devotional manuals called Primers. These compilations of elementary religious instruction were, for the most part, translations and abridgments of portions of the Roman Breviary; but many of them revealed considerable divergence from, in some cases even positive hostility to, the teaching of the Church of Rome.

In 1535—that same year of grace which stands associated with Quignon's 'Breviary' and Herman's 'Consultation'—there was printed and published at London what has come to be known as Marshall's[38] Primer—"A goodly Primer in English, newly corrected and printed, with certain godly Meditations and Prayers added to the same, very necessary and profitable for all them that right assuredly understand not the Latin and Greek tongues."[39] In 1539 appeared Bishop Hilsey's Primer, professing to be 'The Manual of Prayers, or The Primer in English, set out at length.'[40] Finally, in 1545 there was issued, by royal authority, what goes under the name of King Henry's, but might more fitly be styled Cranmer's Primer, "to be taught, learned, and read."[41]

[37] Labbe in his 'Concilia' (tom. xiv. p. 484. Paris: 1671), after the name of Herman, inserts the remark within brackets, "qui postea in hæresim lapsus est."

[38] Regarding William Marshall nothing is now known. In identifying him with Dr Cuthbert Marshal, Archdeacon of Nottingham, Strype was evidently misled by a partial similarity of name.

[39] 'Three Primers put forth in the reign of Henry VIII.' Edited by Edward Burton. Oxford: 1834. P. 1.

[40] Ibid., p. 305. In the title-page the author is designated "John, late Bishop of Rochester." John Hilsey or Hildesley was originally a Black or Dominican Friar.

[41] Ibid., p. 437. 'The Primer set forth by the King's Majesty, and his Clergy, To be taught, learned, and read: and none other to be used through-

All these were issued during the reign of Henry VIII., and paved the way for what appeared two years after his death in the reign of his son Edward VI. Upon the 7th of March 1549 there was printed at London what came into use on the 9th of June following, being Whit-Sunday, the first complete service-book in the English language, bearing on title-page to be 'The Book of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church after the use of the Church of England.' [42]

For us in Scotland that same year 1549 acquires an additional interest from the fact that at an early stage of it, probably in February, there arrived in London a Scotsman—that "honest-hearted brotherly man, brother to the high, brother also to the low, sincere in his sympathy with both, . . . the much-enduring, hard-worn, ever battling man," John Knox, "bravest of all Scotsmen." [43]

Having obtained licence to preach in England, "John Knox, Scott," as he is styled in the list of eighty persons to whom permission was extended during the reign of Edward VI.,[44] was appointed to preach in Berwick-on-Tweed, where

out all his dominions.' 1545. Printed for the first time in 1545 in three different sizes, by Richard Grafton; reprinted in 1546; a literal reprint made in the reign of Edward VI. A copy of the 1545 edition is in the Bodleian Library. Burton. Pref., *ut sup.*, p. lx.

[42] 'The Two Liturgies, A.D. 1549 and A.D. 1552,' &c. Parker Society. Edited by Rev. J. Ketley, M.A. In "The Ancient and Modern Library of Theological Literature" of Messrs Griffith, Farran, Okeden, & Welsh, there is an inexpensive but extremely accurate reprint of the first Prayer-book of Edward VI., as also of the second, and also of Queen Elizabeth's Prayer-book.

[43] Carlyle's 'Heroes and Hero-Worship.' Lect. iv., "The Hero as Priest."

[44] "The names of certayne persons that have hadd license to preache under th' ecclesiasticall seale since Julye in anno 1547." The list contains eighty names—that of Knox being the sixty-fourth in order. Not far from the name of Knox are those of three Scottish preachers closely associated with him at different periods of his career—John Rough, John M'Briar, and John Willock. The list was taken from the original in the Record Office, London, and first published by Dr Laing in his 'Works of John Knox,' vol. vi., Pref., pp. xxvi-xxviii.

he ministered for two years in the old parish church to a congregation composed partly of civilians and partly of soldiers.

Before he was forcibly taken from St Andrews in a vessel of the French fleet, the Scottish reformer had arrived at and acted upon Protestant views regarding the conduct of public worship and the administration of sacraments. This is made abundantly evident from what took place during his brief ministry subsequent to his remarkable call. At the convention of 1547, summoned to meet in St Leonard's Yard for the purpose of inquiring into the preaching of Knox and his senior colleague John Rough, nine articles were exhibited purporting to be taken from the sermons of the two preachers. Of these—the correctness of which Knox, when conducting his defence, did not call in question—it is sufficient for our purpose to adduce the following:—

"(iii.) Man may neither make nor devise a religion that is acceptable to God; but man is bound to observe and keep the religion that from God is received, without chopping or changing thereof.

"(iv.) The Sacraments of the New Testament ought to be ministered as they were instituted by Christ Jesus, and practised by His apostles: nothing ought to be added unto them; nothing ought to be diminished from them.

"(v.) The Mass is abominable idolatry, blasphemous to the death of Christ, and a profanation of the Lord's Supper. . . .

"(vii.) Praying for the dead is vain, and to the dead is idolatry."[45]

When Arbuckill,[46] the Greyfriar, entered the lists with Knox, and undertook to prove that ceremonies are ordered by God, the reply was—

"Such as God has ordained we allow, and with reverence we use them. But the question is of those that God has not ordained,

[45] 'Works,' vol. i. p. 194.

[46] Identified by Dr Laing with Alexander Arbuckylle, member of a Franciscan Monastery of Observantines at St Andrews.—Knox's 'Works,' *ut sup.*, p. 197, n.

such as, in baptism, are spittle, salt, candle, cude (except it be to keep the bairn from cold), hardis, oyle, and the rest of the papistical inventions. . . . For the plain and straight commandment of God is, 'Not that thing which appears good in thine eyes shalt thou do to the Lord thy God, but what the Lord thy God has commanded thee, *that* do thou: add nothing to it; diminish nothing from it.' Now, unless that ye be able to prove that God has commanded your ceremonies, this, his former commandment, will condemn both you and them." [47]

Following up his racy account of the St Andrews disputation, in which Dean Winram, who presided, and the man "bearing a grey cowll" came off second and third best, Knox has this interesting statement regarding himself in his 'History': "God so assisted His weak soldier, and so blessed his labours, that not only all those of the Castle, but also a great number of the town, openly professed, by participation of the Lord's Table, *in the same purity that now it is ministered in the churches of Scotland*, with that same doctrine that he had taught unto them." [48]

As preacher of the Gospel at Berwick, Knox conducted public worship and dispensed the sacraments on the lines laid down during his brief St Andrews pastorate.

Two valuable Knox papers, unknown to his biographer and his editor, but brought to light by Professor Lorimer of London, place this beyond all reasonable doubt.[49] In an "Epistle to the Congregation of Berwick," written in 1552, and a fragment purporting to set forth "The practice of the Lord's Supper used in Berwick-upon-Tweed by John Knox, preacher to that congregation in the church there," Knox is to be seen openly departing from the order of the English Prayer-book, and following what he believed to be the teach-

[47] Ibid., pp. 197, 199. [48] Ibid., p. 201.

[49] 'John Knox and the Church of England: His work in her pulpit and his influence upon her liturgy, articles, and parties. A Monograph founded upon several important papers of Knox never before published.' By Peter Lorimer, D.D. London: 1875.

ing of Christ and the practice of His apostles. Notably was this so in the case of one particular. In the directions for the observance of "The Supper of the Lorde and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Masse," at a certain stage of the service the rubric of the Anglican Prayer-book required the priest to turn toward those coming to the ordinance, and address to them an invitation to "draw near and take this holy sacrament to their comfort, make their humble confession to Almighty God, and to His holy Church here gathered together in His name, *meekly kneeling upon their knees.*" The general confession was then to be made "in the name of all those that are minded to receive the Holy Communion, either by one of them, or else by one of the ministers, or by the priest himself, *all kneeling humbly upon their knees.*" After the priest had repeated "comfortable words" from Scripture, he was to turn "to God's board, *kneel down,* and say, in the name of all them that shall receive the Communion," a prayer, beginning with, "We do not presume to come to this Thy table (O merciful Lord) trusting in our own righteousness, but in Thy manifold and great mercies."

Now, in the estimate of the northern preacher, kneeling, as what he termed "a table gesture," was neither Scriptural nor convenient: it tended to foster superstitious notions concerning the elements; and it had for support only "the statute of that Roman Antichrist, whom Christ Jesus shall confound." He accordingly substituted for kneeling the posture of sitting, an innovation upon Anglican usage with which his congregation did not refuse to comply, but "with all reverence and thanksgiving unto God for His truth," confirmed with their gestures and confession." [50]

After a two years' ministry in Berwick, Knox was, in the summer of 1551, transferred to Newcastle, where he remained till the spring of 1553. In this town, where during

[50] Lorimer, *ut sup.*, p. 261.

his earlier English ministry he had given his confession why he affirmed the Mass to be idolatry before an influential assemblage of the Council of the North in the great church of St Nicolas, Knox conducted public worship and dispensed the sacraments—not in harmony with the direction of the 1549 Prayer-book of Edward VI., but according to his convictions of what was Scriptural. Our warrant for this statement is a writing of the reformer, unknown to his biographer, but now accessible to all in the edition of his collected works.[51] It takes the form of an epistle to the inhabitants of Newcastle and Berwick, in the course of which the brethren of these towns are reminded of their former profession of subjection to Christ "by receiving the sacraments not as man had appointed, but as Christ had instituted them;" also, how often they had taken part in the administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper, "prepared, used, and ministered in all simplicity, not as man had devised, neither as the king's proceedings did allow, but as Christ Jesus did institute and Saint Paul did practise."[52]

Appointed one of King Edward's chaplains in ordinary during his Newcastle ministry, Knox was in a position to bring his reforming zeal to bear upon the improvement of public worship as then conducted in England, and of this he was not slow to avail himself. When, in his capacity of royal chaplain, he visited Windsor, and preached before the youthful king, surrounded by courtiers, prelates, and counsellors, he selected for his subject the right attitude in the observance of the Lord's Supper, creating no small excitement among his hearers by the vehemency with which he inveighed against kneeling.[53]

[51] "An Epistle to the inhabitants of Newcastle and Berwick," M.D.LVIII.—Knox's 'Works,' vol. v. pp. 475-494. The Epistle ends thus touchingly: "The dayes are so wicked, that I dare make special commendations to no man. Your Brother with troubled hart, John Knox."

[52] "Epistle," *ut sup.*, pp. 477, 478, 480.

[53] John Utenhovius, writing to Henry Bullinger from London on October

Thereafter, along with an English rector and the Provost of Eton College, the Scottish chaplain gave in to the Privy Council, in 1552, a Memorial or "Confession" directed against what formed the 38th Article of Religion in Cranmer's original draft, according to which the Book of Common Prayer was affirmed to be "holy, godly, and not only by God's Scriptures probable in every rite and ceremony, but also *in no point* repugnant thereto, as well concerning common prayers and ministration of the sacraments, as the ordering and admission of priests, deacons, bishops, and archbishops."[54] To that statement Knox and his fellow-memorialists refused to subscribe so long as kneeling was enjoined in the administering and receiving of the Lord's Supper, that posture, in their judgment, edifying no man, but offering "occasion of slander and offence to many."[55]

In the end of the day the rector, the provost, and the chaplain succeeded in effecting a rubric modification of the English Service-book.

12, 1552, gives his correspondent the following piece of ecclesiastical news: "Some disputes have arisen within these few days among the bishops, in consequence of a sermon of a pious preacher, chaplain to the Duke of Northumberland, preached by him before the King and Council, in which he inveighed with great freedom against kneeling at the Lord's Supper, which is still retained here by the English. This good man, however, *a Scotsman by nation*, has so wrought upon the minds of many persons, that we may hope some good to the Church will at length arise from it."—'Orig. Letters relative to the Eng. Reformation.' Parker Society. The Second Portion, Let. cclxxiii. pp. 591, 592. Dr H. Robinson, editor of the Letters, states in a footnote, "The preacher referred to was probably Knox." His difficulties connected with the mention of the Duke of Northumberland and the date is satisfactorily removed by Prof. Lorimer, *ut sup.*, chap. iii. p. 99.

[54] A copy of the Articles in Latin, with the autographs of the six Edwardian chaplains, is preserved in H.M. State Paper Office (Calendar, Domestic Series, 1547-1580, p. 5, No. 34). A facsimile of the signatures, that of Knox being the last, is given by Dr Laing in Knox's 'Works,' vol. vi., Pref., p. xxx.

[55] 'Memorial or Confession to the Privy Council of Edward VI., 1552.' Lorimer's 'John Knox and the Church of England.' Part Second, vol. ii. pp. 267-274. In his elaborate Note appended to the document, which does not bear the names of those who drew it up, Professor Lorimer gives conclusive reasons for attributing the paper to Knox.

The First Prayer-book of Edward, although it aimed at preserving "the godly and decent order of the ancient fathers," and contained material drawn partly from the ancient liturgies of the Western Church, partly from the labours of Melanchthon and Bucer, was not satisfactory to any party. No sooner did it appear than a revision was called for. The matter was discussed both in Parliament and in Convocation, and a Commission, with Archbishop Cranmer for president, was appointed to draw up a new book. Questions about the lawfulness of clerical vestments, the observance of holy days, and the nature of the sacramental elements in the Lord's Supper being raised, the process of revision went slowly on. It was toward the close of 1551 before the Commission completed their labours. On the 23d of January 1552 the amended book was laid before Parliament and Convocation; and in April a bill for the uniformity of divine service, with the revised Prayer-book annexed, was brought into both Houses of Parliament, and an order issued that the new Service-book be used throughout the kingdom from the Feast of All Saints following—that is, from the 1st of November.

The printers were busy working off impressions, some of which had actually reached the publishers, when an order was issued by the Privy Council, bearing date 26th September, staying further progress, and prohibiting any of the Company of Stationers from sending abroad copies in their keeping "until certain faults therein be corrected."[56] On

[56] "A letter to Grafton, the printer, to stay in any wise from uttering any of the books of the new Service, and if he have distributed any of them among his company [of Stationers], that then he give strait commandment to every one of them not to put any of them abroad until certain faults therein be corrected."—'Register of the Privy Council,' 26th or 27th Sept. 1552. Extracted by Strype, 'Memorials, Edward VI.,' and reproduced by Professor Lorimer, *ut sup.*, p. 109; also by Rev. T. W. Perry in 'Some Historical Considerations relating to the Declaration on Kneeling.' London: 1863. P. 35. Mr Perry's is a masterly piece of historical writing, which suffers sadly from defective arrangement of matter and heaviness of style. A post-

the 27th of October—only four days before the new Prayer-book was to come into use—an important decision was reached, and recorded in the Register of Council, in these terms: "A letter to the Lord Chancellor, to cause to be joined unto the Book of Common Prayer, lately set forth, a certain declaration signed by the King's Majesty, and sent unto his Lordship, touching the kneeling at the receiving of the Communion."[57]

From two memoranda of Secretary Cecil[58] which have recently been brought to light, it is evident this celebrated document was drawn up *subsequent* to the Memorial of Knox already referred to being brought before the Council, and *after* the question of kneeling or sitting at the receiving of the Eucharist had been debated at a meeting held for that purpose. At this meeting Archbishop Cranmer contended for the rubric his committee had inserted in the Communion

script (No. 2) of some 366 pp. forms the bulk of the volume, which is in the form of a letter to Dr Terrot, then Bishop of Edinburgh and Primus.

[57] Burnet's 'Hist. Reformation,' Part iii. bk. 4. Also Lorimer, *ut sup.*, p. 119; and Perry, *ut sup.*, p. 35.

[58] 1st, the following brief entry: "Mr Knocks—b. of Cat$^{rb}$ | ye book in y$^{t}$ [or y$^{e}$] B. of Durh$^{m}$. *Memoranda of matters to be brought before the Council.*"—October 20, 1552. State Paper Office, "Domestic," Edward VI., vol. xv. No. 20. Given by Perry, *ut sup.*, p. 96, and Lorimer, *ut sup.*, p. 106. "The juxtaposition of Knox and Cranmer, and the mention of *the book*, though separated from their names, I cannot but conjecture to be notes touching this dispute on kneeling which was settled at the Council of Oct. 27th by ordering the Declaration. . . . The former part of the Note looks very much indeed like an allusion to Knox's alleged complaint of the Rubric on Kneeling and the Archbishop's defence of it."—Perry, *ut sup.*, p. 96. Professor Lorimer agrees with Mr Perry in his conjecture. In his judgment the latter part of the memorandum "refers to a proposal to introduce the new Book of Common Prayer into the diocese of Durham, where no Reformed Prayer-book had ever been as yet used."—Lorimer, *ut sup.*, p. 107, n.

2d, For the meeting on the 20th October there occurs the following entry: "A Brief of the Dispute at Windsor, for the King." "This 'Dispute at Windsor' was, no doubt, the same 'dispute among the Bishops' to which Utenhovius refers as occasioned by Knox's sermon at Court. Apparently it had not taken place in the presence of the king, but he had heard of it, and had expressed his pleasure that a 'Brief' of the arguments used on both sides should be drawn up for his perusal."—Lorimer, *ut sup.*, p. 122.

office of their revised Prayer-book, requiring the minister, having first received the Communion in both kinds, to "deliver it to other ministers, if any be there present (that they may help the chief minister), and after to the people in their hands *kneeling;*" while Knox argued for the sitting posture as the proper table gesture.

The decision of the Council was of the nature of a compromise. The rubric they allowed to stand as drawn by Cranmer; but the declaration was to be added, explaining what the kneeling of the communicants was meant to signify, and what it was not intended to imply.

"Whereas it is ordained in the Book of Common Prayer"—so runs the ruling paragraph—"in the administration of the Lord's Supper, that the communicants kneeling should receive the Holy Communion: which thing being well meant, for a signification of the humble and grateful acknowledging of the benefits of Christ, given unto the worthy receiver, and to avoid the profanation and disorder, which about the holy Communion might else ensue: lest yet the same kneeling might be thought or taken otherwise, we do declare that it is not meant thereby, that any adoration is done, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or unto any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood." [59]

After the labours of the Rev. T. W. Perry in his exhaustive work, 'Some Historical Considerations relating to the Declaration of Kneeling,' and of the Rev. Dr Lorimer in his valuable monograph, 'John Knox and the Church of England,' only

[59] The Declaration in its entirety is given by Ketley in 'The Two Liturgies,' &c., *ut sup.*, p. 283; and in the original spelling in 'The Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI., 1552,' *ut sup.*, p. 172. Mr Perry prints the form of Declaration as it appeared in the revised Book of Charles II., 1662—that presently used by the Church of England, alongside of the form of 1552. In the judgment of this competent authority *both* forms were intended "to disclaim for the Church of England a belief in any visible or invisible presence of Christ's natural body and blood locally in the Eucharist, . . . while a definite corporal act was *prescribed*, adequate to express the highest belief, and that the act of kneeling."—*Ut sup.*, pp. 3, 4.

culpable ignorance or pitiable prejudice can keep any writer, whether Episcopal or Presbyterian, from recognising the fact that for that declaration Knox is mainly responsible. No one who has studied these two books and the documents upon which they are founded will now question the correctness of the application to the Scottish Reformer of Dr Weston's description of that "runnagate Scot" who "did take away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the sacrament, by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last communion book." [60]

How obnoxious that declaration has always been to Romanists without and Ritualists within the Church of England is proved by the nickname "Black Rubric" which they have applied to it, as also by the insistent efforts that have been made to secure its ejection from the Anglican Prayer-book.[61] For the present the Knoxian Declaration holds the place first given it in 1552, to be brought forward and debated as often as cases of ritualistic innovation distract the Anglican Church. Whether, in some future revision, it will be retained or dropped must be determined by the ascendancy at the time of revisal of the Romanising or the Puritan party; but whatever may be its fate, no Scotsman intelligently acquainted with the records of past revision will ever read it without a feeling of pardonable pride when he reflects that the Newcastle preacher and royal chaplain of Edward so imprinted his

[60] Foxe, 'Acts and Monuments,' A.D. 1554; Mary (vol. ii. p. 1072, ed. 1875). M'Crie's 'Life of Knox,' Period iii. (p. 44, Un. ed.) Perry, *ut sup.*, pp. 98, 99. Strype, Townsend, editor of Foxe, Dr Wordsworth in 'Eccles. Biog.,' and the editor of Latimer's 'Remains' for the Parker Society, have all questioned the application of Weston's statement to Knox; but Mr Perry has conclusively disposed of all that has been advanced to deprive the Scottish chaplain of such honour as is involved in being vituperated by the Oxford Prolocutor. —*Ut sup.*, pp. 99-102.

[61] When the Elizabethan Prayer-book of 1559 was compiled, the Declaration was dropped in order to conciliate the Romanists of that reign; but when the latest authorised revision took place in 1662, Charles II. being on the throne, it was restored, with some verbal alterations, the policy of comprehension being then pursued towards the Puritans.

stamp upon the Anglican liturgy that of this particular rubric one may say—John Knox, his mark.

With the death of Edward in 1553, and the outbreak of persecution which signalised the accession of his sister Mary to the throne of England, the progress of ritual revision takes us to Frankfort-on-the-Main, an imperial city of Germany which opened its gates to Protestants from all quarters. Thither, in the first place, removed a little colony of Flemish weavers, who had established themselves at Glastonbury under the ecclesiastical superintendence of Valerandus Pollanus.[62] They were kindly received by the authorities of Frankfort, and were granted the use of the Church of the *Weissen Damen*, White Ladies, as a place of worship.[63] The weavers of Glastonbury were, at no long interval, followed by a company of Englishmen and Scotsmen, with William Whittingham, an Oxford scholar of repute,[64] at their head. A friendly alliance was entered into between the French and the British exiles, and an application was made in favour of the latter for permission to hold their services in the same building as the former. This petition was favourably received and cordially granted, the only condition attached being that the English should pledge themselves not

[62] "Nor must the Church at Glastonbury in Somersetshire be unmentioned, with Valerandus Pollanus, their preacher and superintendent. These consisted chiefly of weavers of worsted."—Strype, 'Eccles. Mem.,' vol. ii. pt. i. p. 375. Oxford ed., 1822.

[63] "Frankfort, April 20, the day after the opening of the Church of the White Virgins to us, when Master Valerandus Pollanus, the husband of my relative, and the chief pastor of the church, preached a sermon and baptised his young son in the Rhine."—Anne Hooper to Henry Bullinger: 'Orig. Lets.,' &c., *ut sup.*, Let. li. p. 111. As the *Weissen Frauen Kirche* the church still stands. "Maister Valaren Pullan," as he is styled in the Frankfort Troubles, was probably a native of Brabant, and became minister of the Church of the Strangers, consisting chiefly of French and Walloons, who fled from Strasburg by reason of the Interim, in 1550.

[64] An authentic sketch of the life of William Whittingham is preserved among the MSS. of Anthony A. Wood in the Bodleian, Oxford. Having made a transcript of it with his own hand, Professor Lorimer inserted it as an appendix in his 'John Knox and the Church of England,' pp. 303-317.

to deviate from the teaching and practice of the French brethren, but subscribe a form of worship and a formula of faith which the Continental brethren were then preparing.[65] The best evidence that this condition had been complied with was furnished in September 1554, when there issued from the printing-press at Frankfort a small octavo volume of 92 pages, containing the liturgy of the Congregation of the Strangers there, and a summary of the doctrines they held. The doctrinal summary has two sets of signatures, one containing those of the pastor and elders of the French Church, the other exhibiting the signatures of refugees from Great Britain on account of the Gospel, who subscribed in name of the entire congregation. The first signature in the Gallican column of five names is that of Pollanus, pastor; the first in the British, containing an equal number of names, is that of John Macbray, a Scotsman from Galloway; while the last is that of the English scholar, William Whittingham.[66]

In respect of arrangement and general contents, the Frankfort Service-book resembles an earlier one which Pastor Pollanus had drawn up in Latin in order that the English king and his Council might know what forms the Strasburg strangers proposed to follow at Glastonbury.[67] In the brief

[65] "And the 14 daie off the same monethe [July 1554] yt was graunted that they shulde haue libertie to preache and minister the sacraments, in that churche which the Frenche men had, the Frenche one daie and the Englishe an other daie and upon the Sundaie, to chuse also them houres as they coulde agree amonge them selues, but yt was with this commandement, that the Englishe shulde not discent from the French men in doctrine, or ceremonyes, least they shulde thereby minister occasion off offence, and willed farther, that before they entred their churche, they shulde approue and subscribe the same confession off faith, that the Frenche men had then presented and abowte to put in printe."—'A Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort, in the year 1554.' Petheram's Reprint of Black-Letter edition of 1575, p. vi.

[66] "Professio Fidei Catholicæ. Subscripserunt Pastor et Seniores Ecclesiæ Gall. quæ est Francofordiæ.—VALERANDUS POLLANUS, *Pastor Ecclesiæ*, &c. Subscribunt etiam Angli ob Euangelium profugi, totius Ecclesiæ suæ nomine. —JOANNES MAKBRÆUS, *M.;* GUIL. VUHYTINGHAMUS."—KNOX's 'Works,' vol. iv. p. [145].

[67] The earlier liturgy bears the following title: 'Liturgia Sacra, seu Ritus

Frankfort directory guidance is given for the conducting of three services on the Lord's Day, the afternoon one being devoted to the catechising of children; for the administration of the Lord's Supper on the first Sabbath of each month; for daily services; for a service of repentance; for the administration of baptism; for blessing wedlock; for the visitation of the sick and the administration to such of the Communion; for burial; for the ordination of office-bearers; and for the administration of discipline and infliction of excommunication. One feature of the Continental Service-book may be noticed in passing, being essentially Presbyterian in its character. While forms of prayer to God and addresses to the congregation are provided, it is made abundantly plain that there was no intention on the part of the compilers to restrict those officiating to such forms, there being now and again statements to the effect that at certain stages of the service the minister is at liberty to follow his own course, and allow himself to be guided by the impulse of his own spirit.[68]

Having thus proved their community of view with their Continental brethren in exile by subscribing their articles of faith, the British refugees at Frankfort turned their attention to the manner in which divine service should be conducted

Ministerii in Ecclesia Peregrinorum profugorum propter Evangelium Christi Argentinæ, 1551. Adjecta est ad finem brevis Apologia pro hac Liturgia, per Valerandum Pollanum Flandrum.' Londini, 1551. A summary of this Argentine or Strasburg Service-book is given by Strype, 'Eccles. Mem.,' vol. ii. part i. pp. 379-381. The title of the later or Frankfort book runs thus: 'Liturgia Sacra, seu Ritus Ministerij in Ecclesia peregrinorum Francofordiæ ad Mœnum. Addita est Summa Doctrinæ seu Fidei Professio eiusdem Ecclesiæ.' Francofordiæ, 1554. A copy of this Liturgy is preserved in the University Library of Glasgow, which I have had an opportunity of examining and collating with the Strasburg one as condensed by Strype.

[68] *E.g.:* "Huic addit exhortationem de Cœnæ usu *suo arbitrio.*" "Minister, post decantatum psalmum, pergit in suo libro quemcunq. sumpserit exponendum." "Concludit oratione quam *pro suo arbitrio* dicit, commendans Deo omnes status." "Post horæ spatium concludit precatione aliqua breviare *prout animus tulerit.*"

in their own language as often as they met for public worship in the Church of the White Ladies. The Second English Prayer-book of 1552 was carefully examined, and it was resolved to make use of it, with the following important modifications: audible responses and the Litany to be omitted; the use of clerical vestments to be dispensed with; the confession to give place to another, "framed according to the state and time"; the people to have an opportunity, after the confession, of singing a psalm in metre to a plain tune, according to the usage of the French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, *and Scottish* Reformed Churches; the minister to pray for the assistance of the Holy Spirit before giving his sermon; a general prayer to come after sermon, concluding with the Lord's Prayer and a rehearsal of the articles of belief; the minister to conclude the service with a particular form of blessing, "*or some other of like effect.*" In the administration of the sacraments several omissions were agreed upon, the matters omitted being regarded as "superstitious and superfluous." [69]

[69] "They consulted amonge themselves what Order of Service they shulde use (for they were not so strictly bownde, as was tolde them, to the Ceremonies of the Frenche, by the Magistrats, but that if the one allowed of the other it was sufficient). At length, the English Order was perused, and this by generall consente was concluded that the answeringe allowde after the Minister shulde not be used; the Litanye, Surplice, and many other thinges also omitted. . . . It was farther agreed upon that the minister (in place of the Englishe Confession) shulde use an other, bothe of more effecte, and also framed accordinge to the state and time. And the same ended, the people to singe a psalm in meetre, in a plain tune, as was and is accustomed in the Frenche, Dutche, Italian, Spanishe, and Skottishe churches; that done, the minister to praye for the assistance of God's Holie Spirite, and so to proceade to the sermon. After the sermon a generall praier for all estates, and for our countrie of Englande, was also devised; at th'ende of whiche praier was joined the Lord's Praier, and a rehersall of th' articles of oure belief; which ended, the people to singe ane other psalme, as afore. Then the minister pronouncinge this blessinge, 'The peace of God,' &c., or some other of like effecte, the people to departe. And as touchinge the ministration of the Sacraments, sundrie things were also, by common consente, omitted as superstitious and superfluous."—"The Troubles at Frankfurt," Knox's 'Works,' vol. iv. pp. 10, 11. Petheram's 'Reprint,' pp. vi, vii.

With a service-book thus adjusted to their satisfaction, and a staff of office-bearers elected *pro tempore*, the British exiles proceeded to call three ministers to become colleague pastors of the Church of the Strangers at Frankfort. One of these was John Knox, who, having reluctantly quitted England on the breaking out of the Marian persecutions, had found a home, and favourable opportunities for prosecuting his linguistic studies, at Geneva, the town of John Calvin. When the Scottish exile, complying with the invitation addressed to him,[70] arrived at Frankfort in October 1554, he found that the brethren in Zurich, Strasburg, and other Continental places of refuge, when informed of the changes made at Frankfort upon the English Prayer-book, had expressed displeasure, and opposition to any other service being employed than was provided for in the book of 1552 just as it stood. As a measure of conciliation and compromise, it was proposed that the Order of the Geneva Church, an English translation of which was in the possession of some of the congregation,[71] might be used; but to that arrangement Knox refused to give his consent.[72]

With a view to obtaining an opinion that would have weight with all parties regarding the merits or demerits of the English Book of Common Prayer, a summary of its contents was drawn up in Latin by Whittingham, Knox, and others, and forwarded to Calvin, with a request for his judgment and advice. The answer of the Genevan reformer,

[70] Ibid., Knox's 'Works,' pp. 12, 13; Petheram, pp. xix, xx. Also, 'Life of Knox,' Note Y. (p. 343, Un. ed.)

[71] This was Calvin's Order, drawn up for the congregation of which he was minister. An English translation by "Maister William Huyck" had been "imprinted at London by Edward Whitchurche," 1550.

[72] But Maister Knox beinge spoken unto, aswell to put that Order in practise as to minister the Communion, refused to do either the one or the other; affirminge, that for manie considerations he coulde not consente that the same Order shulde be practised, till the lerned men of Strausbrough, Zurik, Emden, &c., were made privy."—Ibid., Knox, pp. 20, 21; Petheram, p. xxvii.

containing the oft-quoted phrase applied to some of the contents of the book in question—"foolish things that might be tolerated,"[73]—has probably done more to secure for its writer the ill-will of most Church of England authors than his alleged responsibility for the burning of Servetus.[74]

Subsequent to the receiving of Calvin's unfavourable judgment two attempts were made to come to an agreement, and provide an order in following which all might unite.

*First*, Five of the exiles, including the English martyrologist John Foxe, Whittingham, and Knox, drew out an order which, although favourably regarded by many, evoked the strenuous opposition of those who favoured the Anglican liturgy without modification.[75] *Second*, Four brethren, Knox and Whittingham being of the number, met in conference, and agreed upon another order, in which they partly followed the English Prayer-book and partly introduced fresh material.[76] To this draft, existing only in MS., the title of "the

[73] "Multas tolerabiles ineptias."

[74] The "platt of the whole Booke of England" sent to "Maister Calvin of Geneva" is given in English in "The Troubles at Frankfurt," under the heading, "A Description of the Liturgie or Booke of Service that is used in Englande."—Knox's 'Works,' vol. iv. pp. 22-27; Petheram's 'Reprint,' pp. xxviii-xxxiii. Calvin's answer in the original Latin is given in his 'Works' ('Epistolæ et Responsa'), p. 98, also in Knox's 'Works,' vol. iv. pp. 51-53. An English rendering of "The Answere and Judgemente of that famous and excellent lerned man, Maister John Calvin," is given in 'The Troubles at Frankfurt,' Knox, *ut sup.*, pp. 28-30; Petheram, pp. xxxiiii-xxxvi.

[75] ". . . after longe debatinge to and fro, it was concluded, that Maister Knox, M. Whittingham, M. Gilby, M. Foxe, and M. J. Cole, shulde drawe forthe some Order meete for their state and time; whiche thinge was by them accomplished and offred to the congregation (beinge the same Order of Geneva which is nowe in print). This Order was verie well liked of many; but suche as were bent to the Booke of England coulde not abide it."—'The Troubles,' &c., Knox, *ut sup.*, p. 30; Petheram, pp. xxxvi, xxxvii.

[76] "In th'ende an other waie was taken by the congregation, whiche was, that Maister Knox and M. Whittingham, M. Parry and Maister Leaver, shulde devise some Order, yf it might be, to ende all strife and contention. Theis 4 assembled for that purpos. . . . Wherupon after some conference, an Order was agreed upon; some parte taken forthe of the Englishe Booke and other things put to, as the state of that Churche required."—Ibid., Knox, *ut sup.*, p. 31; Petheram, p. xxxvii.

Liturgy of Compromise" has been given by a modern authority.[77]

When laid before the English congregation this new draft met with general acceptance; and it was agreed that a trial be made of it from the 6th of February to the last day of April 1555, provision being made in the agreement that in the event of difference of opinion arising regarding any portion of the drafted liturgy, the matter in dispute should be referred for arbitration to five Continental divines, of whom John Calvin was to be *primus*.[78]

The troubles of Frankfort, however, were far from ended. For in March of the same year there arrived from England Dr Richard Cox and some of his countrymen. During the first service at which they were present the new-comers gave audible responses to the prayers, and persisted in doing so, although remonstrated with by the elders present. This violation of order was followed up by a still more flagrant departure from the agreement. For, on the following "Sunday," as Knox designates the day, one of the Cox party obtained early and surreptitious entrance to the pulpit, from which he read the English Litany, beginning with, "O God the Father of heaven, have mercy upon us miserable sinners," those acting in concert with him uttering such re-

[77] For detailed information regarding, and extracts from, this Frankfort Book of Common Order, see Appendix E of this volume.

[78] "And this Order, by the consent of the congregation, shulde continewe to the laste of Aprill folowing. [This order was taken the 6. of Feb.—*Marg. note.*] Yff anie contention shulde arise in the meane time, the matter then to be determined by theis five notable learned men—to wete, Calvin, Musculus, Martyr, Bullinger, and Vyret. This agremente was put in wrytinge. To that all gave their consentes. This daie was joyfull. Thankes were geven to God, brotherly reconciliation folowed, great familiaritie used, the former grudges seemed to be forgotten. Yea, the holie Communion was, uppon this happie agremente, also ministred."—"The Troubles," &c., Knox, *ut sup.*, pp. 31, 32; Petheram, pp. xxxvii, xxxviii. "Valaran also, the Frenche Minister, was partaker off this Communion, and a furtherer off concorde and a wittnes of theis thinges."—"The Supplication to the Senate," ibid., Knox. p. 36; Petheram, p. xli.

sponses as "Spare us, good Lord; good Lord, deliver us; Christ, have mercy upon us; Lord, have mercy upon us."

To such a violation of order and good faith John Knox was the last man tamely to submit. That very afternoon it fell to him, in order of rotation, to conduct the service. In the course of it he preached a sermon the like of which, it is safe to affirm, Dr Cox and his supporters had never before heard in respect of outspokenness and impassioned warmth. At one stage of his discourse the preacher stated how he now stood in relation to the English Prayer-book. He frankly acknowledged that at one time he thought well of it in general, although he was from the first opposed to the adoption of all its details. But a larger experience, deeper consideration of the evils resulting from its unrestricted use, and a wider view of present requirements, had all led him to modify his earlier judgment; and he now stood forth to tell his hearers plainly that nothing ought to be obtruded upon a Christian congregation without Scripture warrant, and that, as the English Prayer-book contained things which in his judgment were superstitious, impure, unclean, and imperfect, he for one would never consent to its being the service-book of the Frankfort exiles.[79] In conclusion, he warned his hearers of the guilt incurred by those who wil-

[79] ". . . coming to my course the same day after noon to preach, . . . at the time appointed for the sermon by occasion, I began to declare what opinion I had sometime of the English Book, what moved me from the same, and what was my opinion presently. I had once a good opinion of the Book, I said, but even so, I added, like as yours is at the present, that it ought not in all points to be observed. Then afterwards, by the stubborness of such men as would defend the whole, and the deeper consideration of the damnage that might ensue thereof, and by contemplation of our estate, which requireth all our doings to have open defence of the Scriptures, (especially in God's service to admit nothing without God's Word,) I was driven away from my first opinion; and now do I tell them plainly, that as by God's book they must seek our warrant for Religion, and without that we must thrust nothing into any Christian congregation; so because I do find in the English Book (which they so highly praise and advance above all other Orders) things superstitious, impure, unclean, and unperfect (the which I offered myself ready to prove, and to justify before any man), therefore I could not agree that their Book

fully make a breach in the order of a Church of which Christ is the alone Head, adding significantly that, although they and he had changed countries, God had not changed His nature.

At this stage of the Frankfort troubles, when party feeling ran so high that a breach of the peace was apprehended, a friendly Senator interposed with a proposal that a conference be held in the house of the French pastor, the two English parties being represented by Cox and Lever on the one side, Whittingham and Knox on the other.

For two days these men laboured at the task of compiling offices of worship which all might unite in. On the third day, when engaged upon the order for Morning Prayer, the liturgical party insisted that after the general Confession, the Absolution, and the Lord's Prayer, there should come the following, as in the English Prayer-book: "*Then likewise he shall say:* O Lord, open Thou our lips. *Answer:* And our mouth shall show forth Thy praise. *Priest:* O God, make speed to save us. *Answer:* O Lord, make haste to help us." The Puritan party opposed the insertion of the versicles, on the ground that they were unscriptural and Popish. "Then," in the words of Knox, "began the tragedy, and our consultation ended." [80]

Thereafter the intervention of the Frankfort Senate was sought by the perplexed congregation, and was extended to them in a somewhat peremptory fashion; for at a congregational meeting held on the 22d of March 1555, the friendly civil magistrate already mentioned put in an appearance, and informed all present that unless they at once agreed to conform to the French exiles both in doctrine and worship, the British refugees would be expelled alike from church and city.

should be of our Church received."—"A Narrative by Knox of the Proceedings of the English Congregation at Frankfurt," in March M.D.LV., 'Works,' vol. iv. pp. 41-49.

[80] Ibid., p. 46: "Who was most blameworthy," adds Knox, "God shall judge; and if I spake fervently, to God was I fervent."

This summary action of the authorities had a quieting effect upon the Cox party, who professed to be quite satisfied with the Gallican liturgy as "both good and godly" in all points; and for one day at least that order was followed by the congregation of English strangers worshipping in the Church of the White Ladies in the German city.

Although even then the troubles were not ended, it is by no means needful that we trace their subsequent stages. It will suffice to state that in consequence of a move on the part of his opponents as discreditable as it was adroit, bringing him under the suspicions of the municipal authorities, Knox felt himself compelled to retire from his pastorate, after a stay in Frankfort of only five months' duration.[81]

Upon his return to Geneva he received a cordial welcome from "most courteous Calvin," as an English statesman styled the Swiss reformer;[82] and, in concert with Whittingham, Gilby, Goodman, Keith, and others, he speedily organised an English congregation, which in a short time numbered some hundred members.

The temporary absence of Knox on a visit to his native country did not arrest, nor even retard, the work of ecclesiastical construction and equipment; for when, in the autumn of 1556, he returned to Geneva, in response to a call to become one of the pastors of the newly formed congregation, he found them in possession of a Service-book, purporting on the title-page to be "The forme of prayers and ministration of the Sacraments, &c., used in the English Congregation at

[81] The movement of the Cox faction to get rid of Knox, and the sequel to the history of the English congregation at Frankfort, are recorded in the "Hist. of the Troubles," &c.; also by Dr M'Crie, 'Life of Knox' (Period iv. pp. 74-78, Un. ed.), who, in a footnote (p. 76), exposes the inaccuracy and partiality of Strype's narrative of the affair.

[82] Sir Richard Morison, writing from Strasburg to Calvin, April 17, 1555. 'Orig. Lets.,' Parker Soc., Let. lxxiv., pp. 147, 148. The original is preserved at Geneva.

Geneva; and approved by the famous and godly learned man John Calvin," and bearing, at the end of the preface addressed "To our Brethren in England and elsewhere, which love Jesus Christ unfeignedly," to be issued "At Geneva, the 10th of February, Anno 1556."[83]

This book of forms and rubrics is no other than the Service-book drawn up by five brethren at the beginning of the Frankfort disputes, but which, owing to the opposition of the liturgical party, never came to be used in the congregation of the strangers; for, when describing that book, the author of the 'Brief Discourse' makes the important parenthetical statement, "Being the same Order of Geneva which is now in print."[84]

It will be remembered, however, that at a still earlier stage of the Frankfort complication the English congregation had agreed to adopt an Order of Geneva already existing in an English form, and some copies of which had found their way to Frankfort, but which Knox refused to employ. This was the Order drawn up by Calvin, and used in the church of which he was the minister.[85] The Order of Geneva is thus earlier in date of composition than, and quite distinct from, "The Form of Prayers used in the English Church at Geneva," although it stood in a close relation to what succeeded it in point of time.

In view, however, of the influence which the great Swiss reformer exercised no less upon the worship than upon the theology of Presbyterian Scotland, as also of the affinity between it and the Form of Prayers used in the English congregation at Geneva, Calvin's Order may fitly find a place in any treatment of English and Continental ritual revision.

During his banishment from Geneva and his brief pastorate at Strasburg, Calvin prepared a Directory for Divine Service

[83] Knox's 'Works,' vol. iv. pp. 141-214. The preface or address to "Our Brethren in England" is attributed to Whittingham.

[84] See note 75, p. 83. [85] See notes 71, 72, p. 82.

written in the French language. We have this work substantially reproduced in Latin by his successor at Strasburg in the 'Liturgia Sacra,' published by Valerandus Pollanus in London, owing to circumstances already described. After his return to Geneva in 1541, Calvin drew up for the use of the Church three Catechisms and several Forms of Prayer. Some of these works were in French, others in Latin; in some cases Catechism and Form were in one volume, and in other cases they were published separately. The earliest of the separate Forms was issued in 1542,[86] and from it can be gathered what were the distinctive features of the worship rendered by the congregation which had John Calvin for their minister.

At the outset there is this general direction bearing on the prayers to be offered at the week-day services: "The minister useth such words in prayer as may seem to him good, suiting his prayer to the occasion, and the matter whereof he treats in preaching."

In the first or morning service upon the Lord's Day the following order was followed: (1) The Invocation sentence, "Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth." (2) The Exhortation, "Brethren, let each of you present himself before the Lord, with confession of his sins and offences, following in heart my words." (3) The general Confession, beginning with, "O Lord God, Eternal and Almighty Father, we acknowledge and confess before Thy holy Majesty that we are miserable sinners, conceived and born in guilt and corruption, prone to evil, unable of ourselves to do any good work."[87] (4) Singing by the congrega-

[86] 'La Forme des Prieres et Chantz Ecclesiastiques, avec la Maniere d'administrer les Sacramens et consacrer le mariage selon la coustume de L'Eglise ancienne.' M.D.XLII. 'Corpus Reformatorum,' vol. xxxiv. p. 160. Brunsvigæ: 1867.

[87] "Seigneur Dieu, Pere eternel et tout puissant," &c. A translation of this prayer is given by Bingham in his treatise, 'The French Church's Apology for the Church of England' (Bk. iii. chap. ix. vol. ii. p. 761, fol. ed. London:

tion of a psalm. (5) Prayer, the form of which is at the discretion of the minister, but in which he asks of God the grace of His Holy Spirit to the end that His Word may be faithfully expounded to the honour of His name and to the edification of the Church.[88] (6) Praise. (7) The Sermon. (8) "At the close of the sermon, the minister, having made exhortation to prayer, beginneth thus"—then follows a prayer of intercession of considerable length, followed up with an expansion or paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer.[89] (9) The Benediction, "pronounced at the departure of the people, according as our Lord hath commanded," the particular form specified being the Aaronic Blessing.

The directions for the administration of the Lord's Supper are characterised by a like simplicity. Upon the day of celebration the minister either devotes his entire discourse to the ordinance, or makes closing reference to it, unfolding what our Lord would say and signify by this mystery, and after what manner He would have us receive it. Then, having prayed and made confession, testifying in name of the people that all wish to live and die in the Christian verity and faith, he calls upon the congregation, with a clear voice, to attend to the words of institution, which he reads from the eleventh of 1st Corinthians, on which he founds an exhortation. In the course of his address he debars all leading scandalous lives, warning such to abstain from approaching the holy table; and he calls on each intending communicant to

1726); also by Rev. C. W. Baird in 'A Chapter on Liturgies.' London: 1856. Pp. 35, 36.

[88] In view of such a rubric as the above, one is amazed at the audacity and recklessness of a Bampton lecturer who could assure English hearers that Calvin "equally approved of public forms, and *never*, like his followers in after-times, dreamed of praying by the Spirit." 'An Attempt to illustrate those Articles of the Ch. of Eng. which the Calvinists improperly consider as Calvinistical.'—Bampton Lecs. for 1804. By R. Laurence, LL.D. Note 7 on Sermon i., p. 207.

[89] This paraphrase is omitted in the present liturgy of Geneva. Mr Baird inserts the Lord's Prayer and the Creed after the Intercession, but neither forms a part of "La Forme" in 1542.

examine himself with a view to ascertaining whether he is placing his whole trust in God's mercy, and seeking his salvation entirely in Jesus Christ, with a true and earnest purpose to live in harmony and brotherly love with his neighbour. The exhortation ended, the ministers present and officiating distribute the bread and the cup to the people, having admonished them to come forward with reverence and in good order. A psalm is sung, or a portion of Scripture suitable to the occasion is read. Thanksgiving is then rendered either in a form beginning, "Heavenly Father, we give Thee eternal praise and thanks," or in a similar one.

From these specimens of the contents of Calvin's Order of Geneva, it is not difficult to determine what were the principles of divine service which guided the Genevan reformer in its compilation.

As, however, these principles receive striking elucidation from Calvin's printed correspondence, and as his view of the situation of affairs in England and at Frankfort during the period now reviewed can be clearly gathered from the same quarter, we propose to pass in review such of his letters as have a bearing upon the conduct of public worship and the administration of sacraments.

In October 1548, Calvin indited a long and elaborate letter to Edward Seymour, Regent of England during the minority of Edward VI. Because of what is in that letter Calvin has been claimed by such writers as Bingham and Bishop Hall[90] as favouring a fixed and unvarying form of service, he being represented as urging upon the British statesman that every church ought to have a fixed Catechism, a definite Confession of Faith, and a prescribed Form of Prayer. A careful study, however, of the letter in its entirety will not be found to

[90] Bingham, *ut sup.*, Bk. iii. chap. i. p. 747. Bishop Hall, 'Defence of the Humble Remonstrance against the frivolous and false exceptions of Smectymnuus,' 1641, pp. 27, 28.

bear out that construction of a part of it.[91] For in this communication to the English Protector, Calvin is dealing with the existing state of matters in Britain. From what he had heard he was led to believe there were two classes of incompetent pastors in that country. One class consisted of those who could only deliver their sermons when reading from a manuscript; the other was made up of flighty enthusiasts who went beyond all bounds in spreading their own silly fancies. Any danger arising from this state of matters ought not, in the judgment of the reformer, to be allowed to hinder the Spirit of God from having liberty and free course in those to whom He has given grace for the edifying of the Church. At the same time, it is right and fitting to take steps to oppose the levity of fantastic minds, and shut the door against all eccentricities and novel doctrines. The steps which the sagacious foreign correspondent recommends as fitted to diminish, if not entirely check, the evils arising from an inefficient and flighty ministry are these: The preparing of an explicit summary of the truths which all ought to preach; a common catechism for the instruction of children and ignorant persons; a form for public prayers and for the administration of the sacraments. While admitting that, in view of the existing state of matters, it may be well, and even necessary, to bind down pastors and curates to a prescribed form, Calvin is careful to add that, "whatever *in the meantime* be the arrangement, caution must be observed not to impair the efficacy which ought ever to attend the preaching of the Gospel. At an after-stage of his weighty epistle, he enumerates certain corruptions which ought to be cleared away at once—such corruptions as prayers for the dead at the time of the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the

[91] The letter in its original Latin form is given in 'Calvini Epistolæ et Responsa.' Amst.: 1657. A French copy of it is in the Library of Geneva, vol. 107; and an English translation in 'Letters of John Calvin,' by Dr J. Bonnet. Edin. Vol. ii. Let. ccxxix. p. 168.

chrism in the baptism of infants, and extreme unction administered to the dying. "The spiritual government of the Church," remarks the sagacious adviser of the English duke, "ought to be according to the ordinance of the Word of God. Herein we are not at liberty to yield up anything to men, nor to turn aside on either hand in their favour. Indeed there is nought that is more displeasing to God than when we would, in accordance with our own human wisdom, modify or curtail, advance or retreat, otherwise than He would have us."

So far, then, as the Somerset letter of 1548 is concerned, it appears that Calvin was no advocate of liturgic forms, but only tolerated them out of a wise regard to the exigencies of the times. One can cordially endorse the statement of a distinguished Irish Presbyterian controversialist, who argues from this very writing of the Genevan reformer that he was "too well acquainted with the Word of God and with the nature of man to imagine that the desires of the Church should throughout all time ascend to heaven in one unaltering form of supplication." [92]

In the month of January 1551, Calvin wrote to Edward when forwarding to him copies of two of his Commentaries, which he had dedicated to the boy-king of England. The letter to the royal "Sire," who died in his sixteenth year, takes the form of an exhortation to persevere in the work of the reformation in his kingdom, and an enumeration of abuses which ought not to be endured. As specimens of the abuses, he instances "prayer for the souls of the departed, putting forward to God the intercession of saints in our prayers, as also joining them to God in invocation." Distinct from such abuses "are things indifferent which one may allowably tolerate." What these indifferent things are is not stated; but the toleration of them is thus guarded: "We

[92] 'Presbyterianism Defended,' by Ministers of the Synod of Ulster; Discourse iv., by Rev. Dr A. P. Goudy, Strabane, p. 231.

must always carefully insist that simplicity and order be observed in the use of ceremonies, so that the clear light of the Gospel be not obscured by them, as if we were still under the shadows of the law; and then that there may be nothing allowed that is not in agreement with and conformity to the order established by the Son of God, and that the whole may serve and be suited to the edification of the Church. For God does not allow His name to be trifled with—mixing up silly frivolities with His holy and sacred ordinances."[93]

In harmony with the strain of these letters sent across seas to the Protector and to the King of England is that of one despatched, four years after the date of the last-named, to the British exiles at Frankfort, to which reference has already been made. In that "answer and judgment of that famous and excellent learned man, Master John Calvin, . . . touching the Book of England after that he had perused the same," there is the same distinction between things that ought to be clean taken away and "tolerable foolish things" —things, that is to say, not having the purity to be desired, but yet "for a season to be tolerated." In the liturgy of England, as it then was in 1555, the writer discerned many of these latter things. As the defects of these things could not be rectified in a day, and as there was no manifest impiety implied in them, they might, for the present, be allowed to stand. It was permissible to make a beginning with such a rudimentary or elementary form; but so doing, the learned, grave, and godly ministers of Christ ought to aim at something higher, and set forth in course of time "something more filed from rust, and purer." The writer cannot understand how persons can take delight in what he styles "the leavings of Popish dregs," but supposes the explanation must be that they "love the things whereunto they are accustomed." The book is, in his judgment, "a thing both trifling

[93] Bonnet's 'Letters,' &c., *ut sup.*, vol. ii. pp. 284-288. Also in 'Original Letters,' &c., *ut sup.*, Second Portion, pp. 707-711.

and childish," and the new order contained in it is very far from being a change for the better. For both parties in the Church of the Strangers at Frankfort, Calvin has a word of advice. The progressive men of the congregation desirous of attaining to an order in advance of that contained in the book submitted to his judgment, he counsels not to be over-exacting in their demands upon those whose infirmity will not suffer them to ascend to a higher elevation. The obstructives he advertises that they please not themselves in their foolishness, nor, by their forwardness, hinder the progress of sacred edification.[94]

Such was the judiciously balanced counsel tendered to his "dearly beloved brethren and servants of Christ," among whom were "the godly and learned men, Master John Knox and Master William Whittingham," by one who signed himself, "Your John Calvin."

It may lead some to attach value to these sentiments of Calvin if they know in what light the system which bears his stamp and his name is regarded by an Anglican Churchman of learning and insight, which give him a right to be heard in such a matter. "The Protestant movement," wrote Mark Pattison, "was saved from being sunk in the quicksands of doctrinal dispute chiefly by the new moral direction given to it in Geneva. . . . Calvinism saved Europe."[95]

[94] See note 74, p. 83.

[95] 'Essays,' vol. ii. p. 31.

# PERIOD III.

## THE BOOK OF COMMON ORDER.

By the middle of the sixteenth century the Protestant movement was in the ascendant among the nobility and laity of Scotland. The extent and strength of the hold which Reformation principles had taken are evinced alike by the actions and the manifestoes, civil and ecclesiastical, of the Protestant leaders in 1557 and following years. So much of the Reformation movement as has a bearing upon public worship will fall now to be narrated.

Moved in great measure by communications received from Knox, then at Dieppe, the Protestant lords and commoners of Scotland entered into "a common band," in which they solemnly vowed "before the Majesty of God and His Congregation" that they would, "with all diligence, continually apply their whole power, substance, and very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God and His Congregation," and do all in their power "to have faithful ministers purely and truly to minister Christ's Evangel and Sacraments to His people." This covenant or engagement was subscribed in the first place by the Earls of Argyll, Glencairn, and Morton, by Archibald Lord of Lorn, John Erskine of Dun, and thereafter by many others.[1]

[1] Knox's 'Hist. of the Reformation in Scot.,' Book i. 'Works,' vol. i. pp. 273, 274.

These associated and avowed Protestants of Scotland followed up their covenanting by formulating two resolutions, both of which, since they have an important bearing upon Scottish Reformation Divine Service, we give in the words of the reformer and historian:—

"First, it is thought expedient, devised, and ordained that in all parishes of this Realm the Common Prayers be read weekly on Sunday and other festival days, publickly in the Parish Kirks, with the Lessons of the New and Old Testament, conform to the order of the Book of Common Prayers: and if the curates of the parishes be qualified, to cause them to read the same; and if they be not, or if they refuse, that the most qualified in the parish use and read the same.

"Secondly, it is thought necessary that doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of Scriptures be had and used privately in quiet houses, without great conventions of the people thereto, till afterward that God move the Prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers." [2]

It was at one time keenly disputed whether "the order of the Book of Common Prayers" mentioned in the first of these resolutions was the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI., published, as we have seen, in 1552, or the Form of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments compiled at Frankfort, and used by the British refugees at Geneva. Scottish Episcopalians, represented by Bishop Sage, contended that it was the former; while the Rev. John Anderson of Dumbarton, the champion of Presbyterianism, argued that it was the latter. No one of competent knowledge and unbiassed judgment now questions the accuracy of reference on the part of Episcopalian writers. The statements of two public characters of the period place it beyond reasonable doubt that the English Prayer-book was used in Scotland at the time in question.

Writing on the 1st of July 1559 to Sir Henry Percy,

[2] Ibid., pp. 275, 276.

informing him of the manner in which the Reformation movement was being carried on in Scotland, William Kirkaldy of Grange, after telling how monasteries and abbeys had been pulled down, goes on to say: "As to parish churches, they cleanse them of images and all other monuments of idolatry, and command that no Mass be said in them; in place thereof, *the Book set forth by godly King Edward is read in the same churches.*"[3] Similar to this is the testimony of Sir William Cecil, writing, eight days later, to the English Ambassador at Paris on the same subject: "The Protestants be at Edinburgh. The parish churches they deliver of altars and images, *and have received the service of the Church of England according to King Edward's Book.*"[4]

The use of the English Prayer-book, however, although deemed expedient in the transition state of matters, was a use with limitations. It was agreed to read lessons, but these are expressly confined to "the New and Old Testament," thus excluding the apocryphal books, from which some portions were taken in the Anglican Service-book. Then, a considerable portion of the English offices of worship must have been omitted in the Scottish use—all such as could only rightly be discharged by a priest—as often as a competent layman read prayers, the curate of the parish being either incompetent or obstructive. Indeed the whole arrangement was provisional, made to suit the exigencies of the times—times in which there were in most places no settled parish churches and no congregations with regularly ordained ministers.[5]

[3] The letter is given in full by Dr Laing in Knox's 'Works,' vol. vi. pp. 33, 34. It ends thus: "The first of Jullij, in haist, redy to tak the fevre. Youris, as ze knaw, to the deathe."

[4] Forbes's 'State Papers,' vol. i. p. 155. Quoted by Dr M'Crie in 'Life of Knox,' Notes to Period Fifth, Note DD, "On the Form of Prayer used in Scotland at the beginning of the Reformation," which note contains an exhaustive treatment of the question at issue between Sage and Anderson.

[5] "Such arrangements, however, were merely prospective, to suit the exigencies of the times; and if we admit that the English Liturgy was

What has been justly characterised as "the most important meeting of the Estates of the kingdom that had ever been held in Scotland,"[6] engrossing the attention of the nation, and fixing the eyes of Europe on its proceedings, was the meeting of the Scottish Parliament held in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh in the month of August 1560. Before this memorable gathering the Protestant interests were brought by means of a Supplication offered by "the barons, gentlemen, burgesses, and others, true subjects of this realm, professing the Lord Jesus Christ within the same," a document certainly not wanting in either plainness or forcibleness of expression. The petition desired remedy against the action of "that Man of Sin," claiming to himself such titles as "The Vicar of Christ, the successor of Peter, the head of the Kirk," and taking upon him "the distribution and possession of the whole patrimony of the Kirk," and also against them "that are called the clergy," utterly "corrupt of life and manners," living in scandalous violation of the seventh commandment.

But in the Supplication the first place is given to the teaching of the Church of Rome, declared to be opposed to Scripture, without foundation in the teaching of the Master Jesus Christ, His prophets and apostles. The doctrines specified are those of Transubstantiation, the Adoration of Christ's body under the form of the bread of the sacrament, the merit attaching to good works, and the justification flowing therefrom, together with the doctrine of Indulgences, Purgatory, Pilgrimages, and praying to departed saints—all which the Supplication craves that, as they are by God's Word condemned, so they may be abolished by an Act of this present Parliament, and punishment be appointed for transgressors.[7]

actually adopted, it could have only been to a partial extent, and of no long continuance."—Dr Laing, Knox's 'Works,' vol. vi. p. [278].

[6] M'Crie's 'Life of Knox,' Period vi. p. 160, Un. ed.

[7] Knox's 'Hist. of the Reformation in Scot.,' bk. iii., 'Works,' vol. ii. pp. 89-92.

The petition led to those who were responsible for it being requested to lay before Parliament a summary of the Protestant faith which they were prepared to maintain, and which they desired Parliament to establish within the realm. Four days afterwards[8] the required "sum" of doctrine was presented in the form of and under the title of "The Confession of Faith professed and believed by the Protestants within the realm of Scotland." Read in the hearing of the Estates, article by article, this first Scottish Confession of Faith was ratified and approved as "wholesome and sound doctrine, grounded upon the infallible truth of God's Word."[9] As a fitting sequel to the national recognition of the Protestant faith, three Acts were passed by the same Parliament of 1560—one directed against the Mass and all persons administering or being present at its celebration,[10] another abolishing the jurisdiction of the Pope,[11] and the third rescinding all laws made in support of Roman Catholicism, or containing any provision contrary to the teaching of the newly ratified Confession of Faith.[12] Before this parliamentary legislation

[8] "Within foure dayis [the Barronis and Ministeris] presentit this Confessioun."—Knox, ibid., p. 92.

[9] This Confession of 1560 will be found in the 'Scottish Acts of Parliament,' vol. ii. pp. 526-534; in Dunlop's 'Collection of Confessions of Faith,' &c., vol. ii. pp. 21-98—"The Scots Confession"; and in Knox's 'Works,' vol. ii. pp. 93-120. Summaries of the contents are given by Dr M'Crie, 'Life of Knox,' Period vi., pp. 161, 162, Un. ed.; and by Professor Grub, 'Eccl. Hist. of Scot.,' vol. ii. chap. 33, pp. 89, 90.

[10] "Anent the Messe abolischit, and punisching of all that heiris or sayis the samin."—Acts of Parliament, 1567: "The Act against the Messe."—Knox's 'Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland,' bk. iii., 'Works,' vol. ii. p. 123. Violation of this Act was to be visited with "confiscatioun of all thair goodis [movabill and unmovabill], and punisheing of thair bodyis at the discretioun of the Magistrattis . . . for the first fault; banisching of the Realme, for the secound fault; and justifeing to the dead, for the thrid falt." "This severe statute was never executed, so far as I have been able to learn, and probably it was never intended to be executed in its full extent."—Principal Lee, 'Lects. on the Hist. of the Ch. of Scot.,' Lect. vi., vol. i. p. 149.

[11] "The Act for Abolishing the Jurisdictioun of the Pape."—Knox's 'Works,' vol. ii. pp. 124, 125.

[12] "There was likewise another Act annulling all former Acts made for the

was accomplished, both the Protestant laity and the Reformed pastors had realised the necessity of having a polity for the Protestant Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Thus, as early as the 29th of April 1560, the great Council of the land gave it in charge to the Protestant ministers to draft and submit to Parliament some platform of common doctrine, worship, government, and discipline. To this task those intrusted with it addressed themselves so ardently and unremittingly that in the course of three weeks they had in readiness several "Heads for common order and uniformity."[13] No further action, however, was taken till after the dissolution of Parliament. When the desirableness of having "a good and godly policy" was again made matter of urgency, a commission of divines was charged to complete the work.[14] This was done, and the volume containing the policy and discipline of the Reformed Church was submitted to the Lords of the Congregation. By these ecclesiastical leaders it was carefully perused, with varying results. Some cordially approved, and wished legal sanction given to the polity, as had been done in the case of the Confession; others disliked the document, styling it "a devout imagination" of the clerical brain. Laid before one of the earliest meetings of the General Assembly, held on the 5th January 1560-61, made by the fathers and brethren matter of "great pains, much reading, prayer, and meditation," the "Heads of the Policy of the Kirk" received the approval of all present, some articles deemed too lengthy being abridged.[15] Although never ratified by Parliament, this Reformation standard received the

maintenance of Idolatry, or 'contrary to the Confession of Fayth, published in this Parliament.'"—Dr Laing, Knox's 'Works,' vol. ii. p. 123, n. 1. The three Acts were republished, with others of a similar nature, at Edinburgh in 1580, and again in 1593.

[13] The Preface to the 'Book of Discipline,' Knox's 'Works,' vol. ii. p. 184.

[14] The Commission consisted of two superintendents, John Spotswood and John Winram, with three ministers, John Douglas, John Row, and John Knox—a truly notable Johannine company.

[15] Row's 'Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland,' p. 16 of Wodrow Soc. ed.

approval of a majority of the Lords of Council, who declared it to be "good, and conform to God's Word in all points," and promised to further the same to the utmost of their power.[16] The work thus stamped with ecclesiastical and civil approval is best known under the familiar title of the 'Book of Discipline,' although the alternative title, 'Book of Polity,' is more expressive of its scope and more descriptive of its contents.

Other two documents may be classed along with the Confession and the Book of Discipline as belonging to the same early Reformation movement. These are, "The Form and Order of the Election of the Superintendents,"[17] and "The Order of the Election of Elders and Deacons in the privy Kirk of Edinburgh, in the beginning, when as yet there was no public face of a Kirk, nor open Assemblies, but secret and privy Conventions in Houses or in the Fields."[18] The earlier of these directories bears to have been used in 1560-61, when John Knox was minister, and John Spotswood was admitted Superintendent of Lothian; the later one, although in its completed form it has material that can only have been inserted in 1568, has a place in the manuscript copy of Knox's 'History,' belonging to the University of Glasgow, under the year 1561.

Throughout the Book of Discipline references occur to what is designated "the Order of Geneva," "our Book of Common Order," "the Book of our Common Order called the Order of Geneva," "the Common Prayers."[19] The Service-book thus variously described is manifestly the one drawn

[16] Knox's 'Hist.,' &c., bk. iii. p. 129, pp. 258-260 of 'Works,' vol. ii.; Row, *ut sup.*, p. 17.

[17] "The Forme and Ordour of the Electioun of the Superintendents, quhilk may serve also in Electioun of all uther Ministers. At Edinburghe, the 9th of Merche 1560 yeiris, John Knox being Minister."—Knox's 'Hist.,' bk. iii., 'Works,' vol. ii. pp. 144-150; Dunlop's 'Confessions,' &c., vol. ii. pp. 625-636.

[18] Ibid., pp. 151-154; Dunlop, *ut sup.*, pp. 636-641.

[19] Ibid., pp. 186, 196, 239, 210; Dunlop, *ut sup.*, pp. 520-624, *passim.*

up at Frankfort, but first used by the British refugees formed into a congregation at Geneva, and which has for title, "The Form of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, &c., used in the English Congregation at Geneva, and approved by the famous and godly learned man, John Calvin." While there is no formal sanctioning of this book of forms in any of the early Reformation documents just enumerated, the notices taken of it are such as show it to have been in actual use. That it had gradually superseded the English Prayer-book from the time of the return of John Knox to Scotland in 1559 seems very evident. Naturally, as the Reformed faith spread over Scotland, and Protestant congregations became larger and more numerous, the use of the Geneva Form of Prayers assumed greater proportions, and the demand for copies was more difficult to meet. That this was the state of matters in 1562 can be gathered from two incidents of that year.

*First,* There was then printed the earliest Scottish edition of the Geneva Order. "Imprinted at Edinburgh, by Robert Lekprewick, *cum privilegio,* 1562," it bears on title-page to be "The Form of Prayers, . . . whereunto are also added the prayers which they use there in the French Church." [20]

*Second,* On the closing day of December in that same year, the General Assembly passed an Act requiring a uniform order to be taken and observed in the administration of sacraments, the solemnisation of marriage and burials, "*according to the Book of Geneva.*" [21]

[20] "The Forme of prayers and ministration of the Sacraments, &c. used in the English Churche at Geneua, and approued by the famous and godlie learned man, John Caluin, whereunto are also added the praiers which they use there in the Frẽche Churche: With the confession of Faith whiche all they make that are received into the vniuersitie of Geneua. 1 Corinth. iii., 'No man can laye any other fundation thẽ that which is laid, euen Christ Jesus.' Imprinted at Edinburgh, by Robert Lekprewik. *Cum priuilegio,* 1562."—Knox's 'Works,' vol. iv. p. [155].

[21] "Sessio 5ta, haldin the last of December 1562. . . . It is concludit that ane uniforme ordour salbe takin or keipit in the administratioun of the Sacra-

A larger use of the Forms of Geneva, however, soon made it evident that, in their original form and local application —intended for the guidance of a single congregation abroad —they fell short of the requirements of an entire country and the Scottish people.

Steps were accordingly taken to have the work enlarged and adapted to existing circumstances and national requirements.[22] Several prayers, selected and original, were added, and the metrical rendering of the Psalms appeared in completed form.

When all was ready for publication, the General Assembly, at a meeting held on the 26th of December 1564, issued a prospective injunction, to the effect that "every Minister, Exhorter, and Reader shall have one of the Psalm-books lately printed in Edinburgh, and use the order contained therein in Prayers, Marriage, and ministration of the Sacraments."[23] The book thus referred to duly appeared, with the following for its descriptive title: "The Form of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, &c., used in the English Church at Geneva, *approved and received by the Church of Scotland.* Whereunto, besides that was in the former books, are also added sundry other prayers, with the whole Psalms of David in English metre. M.D.LXV."[24]

ments and solemnization of mariages and burialls of the dead, according to the Booke of Geneva."—'The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland,' 1562. Maitland Club edition. Part I., p. 30.

[22] We have no information regarding the persons to whom the task of enlarging and adapting was intrusted; but we get curious insight into the typographical arrangements of the undertaking from this entry in the proceedings of the Assembly of 1562: "For printing of the psalms, the kirk lent Rob. Lickprivick, printer, twa hundreth pounds, to help to buy irons, ink, and papper, and to fie craftesmen for printing."—Dickson and Edmond's 'Annals of Scottish Printing,' chap. xviii. p. 199.

[23] 'The B.U.K.S.,' *ut sup.*, p. 54.

[24] "The Forme of Prayers and ministration of the Sacraments, &c. vsed in the English Church at Geneua, approued and receiued by the Churche of Scotland, whereunto besydes that was in the former bokes are also added sondrie other prayers, with the whole Psalmes of Dauid in English meter.

It is this remodelled Book of Geneva which sometimes passes under the name of "Knox's Psalms and Liturgy," more frequently, specially in modern reprints, under that of "Knox's Liturgy." More misleading and incorrect titles it would be difficult to light upon.

While Knox had undoubtedly a share in the compiling of the book, he was not solely responsible for its contents, any more than was Cranmer for those of the Church of England Prayer-book. Who ever speaks of Cranmer's Liturgy?

It is, however, the application of the term "Liturgy" to the Scottish Service-book of the sixteenth century[25] that is open to the severest condemnation. Never by Knox or any of his associates is the word applied to the book either of Geneva or of Edinburgh.

Calderwood the historian, born in 1575 and dying in 1650, whose 'History' was not published till some years after his death, writes in that work of what may be gathered "not only of the First Book of Discipline, but also out of the Liturgy or manner of ministration of the sacraments, and form of divine service, which is set down

The contents of this boke are conteined in the page following. 1 Corinth. iii., 'No man can lay any other fundation, then that which is laid, euen Christ Jesus.' Printed at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprevik, M.D.LXV." — Knox's 'Works,' vol. vi. p. [287]. The edition of the above printed in Dunlop's 'Collection' is that of 1600, "compared with several other editions, particularly with that of Geneva, 1558," vol. ii. p. 383. In the reprint of the 'Book of Common Order and Directory of the Church of Scotland,' edited by Dr Sprott and Dr Leishman, and published in 1868, the edition reproduced is that of Andro Hart, 1611, by which date the title had been altered to "The Psalmes of David in Meeter, with the Prose. Whereunto is added Prayers commonly vsed in the Kirke, and private houses: with a perpetuall Kalendar and all the Changes of the Moone that shall happen for the space of xix yeeres to come. Duelie calculated to the Meridian of Edinbvrgh." A useful list of the principal editions of the 'Book of Geneva' and the 'Book of Common Order,' from 1556 to 1644, with a statement of where copies exist, is given by Dr Sprott at the outset of his "Notes" to the foregoing reprint, pp. 237, 238.

[25] In 1840 Dr John Cumming of London republished what he calls 'The Liturgy of the Church of Scotland, or John Knox's Book of Common Order.'

before the Psalms;"[26] while Anderson of Dumbarton, writing in 1711, represents his opponent Sage as acknowledging "that our Scotch Liturgy, commonly called Knox's or the Geneva Liturgy, was universally used for wellnigh fourscore years after the year 1564;" and he himself, at an after-stage of 'The Countrey Man's Letter to the Curat,' makes reference to "the Scotch or Genevan Liturgy."[27] How much earlier than the dates now given this loose way of speaking was in use may not now be ascertained, but whenever and by whomsoever introduced, the expression "Liturgy" applied to the Form of Prayers was both unfortunate and infelicitous. For whether the term be taken in the more restricted technical sense in which it is applied to the Communion service at the altar, or in the wider and more popular acceptation according to which it describes prescribed and obligatory forms or offices of worship, it is altogether inapplicable to any Presbyterian service-book, which never aims at being more than a directory, with forms for optional use. This will appear when the contents of this particular Presbyterian directory come to be dealt with; meanwhile, it may be noted that such accurate and accuracy-loving authorities as the biographer and the editor of Knox avoid the use of the expression "Knox's Liturgy." While telling their readers that the book is "sometimes called Knox's Liturgy," they give it to be understood that the more suitable title is that by which it was generally known in early times, "The Book of Common Order."[28] Let us in our after-treatment so designate the work, applying to the earlier one the distinctive title of "The Book of Geneva."

Drawing our information as well from the ecclesiastical standards already enumerated as from the book itself, we

[26] Calderwood's 'Historie,' 1561, vol. ii. p. 51 of Wod. Soc. ed.

[27] Anderson's 'Countrey Man's Letter to the Curat,' pp. 61-63.

[28] M'Crie's 'Life of Knox,' Period iv. p. 72, n. 2 in Un. ed. Also, Note DD, p. 356, Laing's 'Works of Knox,' vol. vi. p. 277.

proceed to state the principle applied in the structure, and thereafter, the leading features of the contents, of the Book of Common Order.

The principle regulating all the divisions and details of the Scottish Presbyterian book of ritual is the sole and supreme authority of Scripture in all that enters into the essence of public worship. The compilers of the Reformation subordinate standards did not undertake to lay down an order for every detail, in every particular. They acted upon a distinction between what is necessary if there is to be the face of a visible Church in the land, and what may be profitable and desirable, but is not absolutely necessary. In the latter category they placed the singing of psalms, the selection of passages of Scripture for public reading, the number of week-day services, the frequency or rarity of the dispensation of the Lord's Supper.[29] These and suchlike matters, not entering into the essence of divine service, they left to be determined by each particular congregation, and according to the discretion of ministers and elders.

The things deemed "utterly necessary" were the preaching of the Word, the administration of sacraments, prayer, catechising, and discipline.[30]

[29] "Polecie we call ane exercise of the Churche in suche thingis as may bring the rude and ignorant to knawledge, or ellis inflambe the learned to greater fervencie, or to reteane the Churche in gude ordour. And thairof thair be two sortis: the one utterlie necessarie. . . . The other is proffitable, but not of mere necessitie; as, that Psalmes suld be sung; that certane placis of the Scripturis suld be red whan thair is no sermon; that this day or that day, few or many in the weeke, the churche suld assemble. Off these and suche utheris we can not se how ane certane ordour can be establisched. For in some churcheis the Psalmes may be convenientlie sung; in utheris, perchance thay can not. Some churcheis may convene everie day; some thryise or twise in the weeke; some perchance bot onis. In these and such like must everie particular Churche, by thair awin consent, appoint thair awin Polecie." —'The Buke of Discipline,' "The Nnyt Heade, concernyng the Polecie of the Churche." Knox's 'Works,' vol. ii. pp. 237, 238; Dunlop's 'Collection,' vol. ii. p. 582.

[30] ". . . two sortis: the one utterlie necessarie; as that the word be treulie preched, the sacramentis richtlie ministrat, common prayeris publictlie

In the case of these necessary things the principle laid down and strictly applied was, that for each part of the worship there must be divine sanction in the form of Scripture warrant; all professed honouring of God not contained in His holy Word is, it was maintained, not worship, but idolatry;[31] the sacraments are rightly administered when to Scriptural institution nothing is added, and from such nothing is taken,—all is to be done "as Christ our Saviour hath taught us, . . . according to His example; so that without His word and warrant there is nothing in this holy action" to be "attempted."[32]

Among things that ought to be abolished, because involving a violation of this principle, the compilers of the Book of Discipline specify prayers for the dead, observance of fasting days superstitiously, and of holy days—such as the so-styled Feasts of Apostles, Martyrs, and Virgins, of Christmas, Circumcision, and Epiphany, with the Purification and other festivals of "our Lady"—all of which are declared to be inventions of the Papists."[33]

maid; that the children and rude personis be instructed in the cheaf pointis of religioun, and that offences be corrected and punisched; these thingis, we say, be so necessarie, that without the same thair is no face of ane visible Kirk."—Knox, *ut sup.*; Dunlop, *ut sup.*

[31] "By Idolatrie we understand the Messe, Invocatioun of Sanctis, Adoratioun of Ymagis, and the keping and retenying of the same; and finallie, all honoring of God, not conteaned in his holie Word."—Ibid., "The Thrid Head." Knox, *ut sup.*, pp. 188, 189; Dunlop, *ut sup.*, p. 523.

[32] ". . . quhen farther to thame is nothing added, from thame no thing diminissit, and in thair practise nathing changit besydis the institutionn of the Lord Jesus, and practise of his holie Apostles."—Ibid., "The Secound Head, of Sacramentis." Knox, *ut sup.*, p. 186; Dunlop, *ut sup.*, p. 520. "Then taking bread we give thankes, breake and distribute it, as Christ our Saviour hath taught us. Finally, the ministration ended, we give thankes againe, according to his example: So that, without his worde and warrant, there is nothing in this holie action attempted."—'The Book of Common Order,' "The Maner of the Lord's Supper. To the Reader." Knox's 'Works,' vol. vi. p. 326; Dunlop's 'Collection,' vol. ii. p. 454; Dr Sprott's Reprint, p. 128.

[33] Among things of doctrine declared to be repugnant to Christ's evangel and "damnabill to mannis salvatioun," a place is given to the "keping of holy

I. Coming now to the contents of the Book of Common Order, it may be well to begin with the sacraments, their number and mode of administration. In 1551 the people of Scotland were told, on the authority of holy mother Church, speaking to them through Hamilton's Catechism, that there are seven sacraments—Baptism, Confirmation, the Sacrament of the Altar, Penance, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders, and Matrimony. In their first national Confession of Faith the Protestants of Scotland affirmed: "We now, in the time of the Evangel, have two sacraments only, instituted by the Lord Jesus, and commanded to be used of all those that will be reputed members of His body—to wit, Baptism, and the Supper or Table of the Lord Jesus, called the Communion of His body and blood." [34]

In "the Order of Baptism" the following are the rubrics of direction:—

"First note, that forasmuch as it is not permitted by God's Word that Women should preach or minister the Sacraments, and it is evident that the Sacraments are not ordained of God to be used in private corners as charms or sorceries, but left to the congregation, and necessarily annexed to God's Word, as seals of the same; Therefore, the Infant which is to be baptised shall be brought to the Church, on the day appointed to common prayer and preaching, accompanied with the Father and Godfather, so that after the Sermon, the Child being presented to the Minister, he demandeth this Question: Do you present this Child to be baptised, earnestly desiring that he may be ingrafted in the mystical body of Jesus Christ? *The Answer.*—Yes, we require the same."

The foregoing question and answer are identical with those

dayis of certane Sanctis commandit by man, suche as be all those that the Papistis have invented, as the Feistis (as thai terme thame) of Appostillis, Martyres, Virgenis, of Christmess, Circumcisioun, Epiphany, Purification, and uther found [fond] feistis of our Lady."—'The Buke of Discipline,' "The First Head, of Doctrine. The Explicatiouns of the First Head." Knox's 'Works,' vol. ii. pp. 185, 186; Dunlop's 'Collection,' vol. ii. p. 519.

[34] Knox's 'Works,' vol. ii. p. 113; Dunlop's 'Collection,' vol. ii. pp. 77, 78.

given at this stage of the service in the Book of Geneva. So also is a lengthened address to which the minister "proceedeth" after receiving the answer. This given, the rubric proceeds: "Then the Father, or in his absence the Godfather, shall rehearse the Articles of his Faith; which done, the Minister expoundeth the same as after followeth." This leads up to "An Exposition of the Creed," not as commonly divided into twelve articles, but as arranged in "four principal parts." "Then followeth this prayer." The prayer that follows is the same as that in the Book of Geneva, and it concludes, as does the earlier order, with the petition for the child, that after this life be ended he may be brought as a living member of Christ's body "unto the full fruition of Thy joys in the heavens, where Thy Son our Christ reigneth, world without end. In whose name we pray as He hath taught us: Our Father," &c. "When they have prayed," continues the rubric, "the Minister requireth the child's name, which known, he saith, '*N.*, I Baptise thee in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' And as he speaketh these wordes, he taketh water in his hand, and layeth it upon the child's forehead; which done, he giveth thanks as followeth."

The thanksgiving in the Book of Common Order is also taken from the Order of Baptism in the Book of Geneva.[35]

"The Manner of the Lord's Supper," as set forth in the first Directory of the Reformed Church of Scotland, is characterised by a like simplicity and adherence to Scripture rule. This will be apparent if, as in the case of the other sacrament, we follow the order and directions of the rubrics. "The day when the Lord's Supper is ministered"—so runs the first instruction—"which commonly is used once a month, or so oft as the Congregation shall think expedient,[36] the Minister

[35] Knox's 'Works,' vol. vi. pp. 316-324. Compare with vol. iv. pp. 186-191; Dunlop's 'Collection,' vol. ii. pp. 427-445; Dr Sprott's Reprint, pp. 135-149.

[36] "Foure tymes in the yeare we think sufficient to the administratioun of

useth to say as followeth." The exhortation, which includes the reading of the words of institution as found in 1st Corinthians, is substantially that of the Book of Geneva, the paragraph of excommunication being somewhat fuller and more strongly worded. "The exhortation ended, the Minister cometh down from the pulpit, and sitteth at the Table, every man and woman in likewise taking their place as occasion best serveth: then he taketh bread and giveth thanks, either in these words following, or like in effect." The form of prayer supplied begins with: "O Father of mercy, and God of all consolation, seeing all creatures do acknowledge and confess Thee as Governor and Lord, it becometh us, the workmanship of Thine own hands, at all times to reverence and magnify Thy Godly Majesty;" and ends with an ascription of "all thanks, praise, and glory" for "most inestimable benefits received of Thy free mercy, by Thy only beloved Son Jesus Christ." "This done," continues the Directory, "the Minister breaketh the bread, and delivereth it to the people, who distribute and divide the same amongst themselves, according to our Saviour Christ's commandment, and likewise giveth the cup. During the which time, some place of the Scriptures is read, which doth lively set forth the death of Christ, to the intent that our eyes and senses may not only be occupied in these outward signs of bread and wine, which are called the visible word; but that our hearts and minds also may be fully fixed in the contemplation of the Lord's death, which is by this holy sacrament represented. And after the action is done, he giveth thanks." The thanks-

the Lordis Tabill, which we desire to be distincted, that the superstitioun of tymes may be avoided so far as may be. . . . We do not deny but that any severall churche, for reasonable causses, may change the tyme, and may minister ofter; but we study to suppresse superstitioun."—'The Buke of Discipline,' "The Nnyt Heade." Knox's 'Works,' vol. ii. pp. 239, 240. "Attour [moreover] ordains the Communion to be ministrat four tymes in the yeir within burrowes, and twyse in the yeir to landwart."—'The B.U.K.,' 1562, Part I. Mait. Club ed., p. 30.

giving which follows, beautifully conceived and tenderly worded, is, with a few verbal alterations, identical with that used at Geneva. "The action thus ended," directs the closing rubric, "the people sing the 103d Psalm, 'My soul give laud,' &c., or some other of thanksgiving: which ended, one of the blessings before mentioned is recited, and so they rise from the Table, and depart." In both the Book of Geneva and the Book of Common Order this closing rubric is followed up with a statement "to the Reader," the purpose of which is to explain "Why this order is observed rather than any other," —an order in which "first of all we utterly renounce the error of the Papists; secondly, we restore unto the sacrament his own substance, and to Christ His proper place." [37]

II. From the sacraments and their administration we pass to the Common Prayers, which form a distinctive feature of the public worship of Presbyterian Scotland. The very titles of the Service-books, whether compiled at Frankfort, used at Geneva, or remodelled at Edinburgh, testify to the importance attached to the devotional element on the part of those who arranged them. In all such these words, "The Form of Prayers," form the opening part of the description of contents. The prayers contained in these books of form were read from the printed book at certain stages of divine service, —as openly and regularly read as were the passages of Scripture forming the lessons for the day. In the case of some of these printed and read prayers we are able to state, with considerable probability, the sources from which they were taken. Thus, what in the Book of Common Order comes before the sermon as "The Confession of our Sins," appears in all the liturgies of the Reformed Churches as "The Common Confession," is taken, in the first instance, from Calvin's Latin

[37] Knox's 'Works,' vol. vi. pp. 324-326, compared with vol. iv. pp. 191-197; Dunlop's 'Collection,' vol. ii. pp. 445-454; Dr Sprott's Reprint, pp. 121-128.

Form of 1545, but is, in all probability, originally a pre-Reformation prayer.[38]

Other devotional forms bear, on the face of them, to have been prepared in view of special requirements of the nation or of the Church, and were only intended for temporary use.

This holds good of a form "used in the Churches of Scotland in the time of their persecution by the Frenchmen," and of another called "A Thanksgiving unto God after our deliverance from the tyranny of the Frenchmen."[39] Of these special forms, some were recast in successive versions or editions of the Book of Geneva. In this way "A Confession of Sins, with Prayer for remission of the same, to be used in these troublesome days," inserted in the Edinburgh edition of the Book of Geneva, appears in the Book of Common Order, with some modifications, under the title of "Another Confession and Prayer commonly used in the Church of Edinburgh on the day of common prayers."[40]

The distinguishing peculiarity of this department of divine service, as provided for in the Book of Common Order, is one that has often been pointed out, but which cannot be too strongly emphasised,—the liberty vested in the officiating minister, the discretionary power left with him to employ, to modify, or to omit the forms of prayer provided.

At the weekly gathering for the interpretation of Scripture, for example, the rubric provides that the Confession of Sin be used by the minister, but adds, "or like in effect."[41] Then before preaching the officiating clergyman is enjoined

[38] The "General Confession" in the Communion Order of the Church of England is substantially this form of prayer. According to Mr Procter, the English reformers took it from Herman's 'Simple and Religious Consultation.'—'Hist. of the Book of Common Prayer,' chap. iii. sect. iii., pp. 355, 356 n. of eighteenth edition.

[39] Knox's 'Works,' vol. vi. pp. 309, 313.

[40] Ibid., pp. 294, 371.

[41] Ibid., p. 294.

to pray; but no form of prayer is provided: he is simply directed to invoke "the assistance of God's Holy Spirit, as the same shall move his heart."[42] After sermon, prayer is to be offered "for the whole state of Christ's Church," and confession is to be made in the articles of the Creed; but when supplying a form for this prayer the compilers describe it in this alternative way—"this prayer following, *or such like*."[43] To the specific directions for the conduct of divine service on the Lord's Day there is subjoined this intimation:—

"It shall not be necessary for the Minister daily to repeat all these things before mentioned, but beginning with some manner of Confession, to proceed to the Sermon; which ended, he either useth the prayer for all Estates before mentioned, or else prayeth, as the Spirit of God shall move his heart, framing the same according to the time, and matter which he hath treated of. And if there shall be at any time any present plague, famine, pestilence, war, or such like, which be evident tokens of God's wrath, . . . it shall be convenient that the Minister, at such time, do not only admonish the people thereof, but also use some form of prayer, according as the present necessity requireth, to the which he may appoint, by a common consent, some several day, after the sermon, weekly to be observed."[44]

In this connection there is a statement in the Book of Discipline bearing upon the daily service, deemed proper to be held in all large towns, which is significant as showing that the authors were fully alive to the abuses connected with printed prayers constantly read. At these week-day services it is deemed expedient there should be either the preaching of a sermon or the reading of the common prayers and of Scripture. On those days upon which there is preaching it is not required nor greatly approved of that the common prayers be publicly used. For this arrangement two

[42] Ibid., p. 297.

[43] Ibid., p. 297.

[44] Ibid., vol. iv. p. 186; Dunlop's 'Collection,' vol. ii. p. 426; Dr Sprott's Reprint, pp. 90, 91.

reasons are assigned. One is that the unvarying use of the prayers would foster in the people a superstitious regard for them, leading worshippers to come to the prayers as they had come in former days to the Mass. The other is that this constant hearing of read prayers might lead people to regard as no prayers at all those not read but made before and after sermon.[45]

From all that has now been advanced it will be seen how impossible it is to impugn the accuracy of the biographer of Knox, when he affirms that "the Scottish prayers were intended as a help to the ignorant, not as a restraint upon those who could pray without a set form."[46]

III. By a natural transition we pass from the "Common Prayers" to the Congregational Praise, as ordered in the subordinate standards of the Church of Scotland reformed from Popery.

One of the Reformation documents mentioned at an earlier stage of this survey was "The Form and Order of the Election and Admission of the Superintendent." In this short

[45] "In greit Tounis we think expedient that everie day thair be eathir Sermon, or ellis Common Prayeris, with some exercise of reiding the Scripturis. What day the publict Sermon is, we can neathir require or gretlie approve that the Commoun Prayeris be publictlie used, least that we shall eathir fostar the peple in superstitioun, wha come to the Prayeris as thay come to the Messe; or ellis give thame occasioun to think that those be no prayeris whiche ar maid before and efter Sermon."—'The Buke of Discipline,' "The Nnyt Heade," Knox's 'Works,' vol. ii. p. 238; Dunlop's 'Collection,' vol. ii. pp. 582, 583.

[46] 'Life of Knox,' Note DD, p. 357 of Un. ed. Dr M'Crie adds: "The readers and exhorters commonly used them; but even they were encouraged to perform the service in a different manner." In support of this statement reference is made to 'The Ordour and Doctrine of the General Fast' of 1565, in which this occurs for the regulating of "The Exercise of the whole Weke": "The beginning ever to be with Confession of our sinnes, and imploring of God's graces. Then certane Psalmes, and certane Histories to be distinctly red, exhortation to be conceaved thereupon, and prayers lykewise, as God shall instruct and inspyre the Minister or Reader."—Knox's 'Works,' vol. vi. pp. 420, 421; Dunlop's 'Collection,' vol. ii. pp. 693, 694.

paper the several stages in the service, as first used, were these: (1) A sermon was made, in the course of which four heads were "intreated," followed up by (2) A declaration by the maker of the same what the Lords of the Secret Council had done in the matter of the appointment of Mr John Spottiswood to be Superintendent of the Churches of the Lothian. (3) Questions were put to and answered by the congregation assembled, as also in the case of the Superintendent elect. (4) Prayer was addressed to Christ, "the eternal Son of the eternal Father," "our Lord, King, and only Bishop," and ending with the Lord's Prayer. (5) The extending the hand of fellowship to the Superintendent elect on the part of "the rest of the Ministers and Elders of that Church, if any be present, in sign of their consent." (6) The Benediction by "the chief Minister," concluding with a doxology.[47] (7) An "Exhortation to the elected." (8) The Form concludes with the injunction, "Then sing the xxiii. Psalme."[48]

In the 'Compendious Book of Psalms and Spiritual Songs,' commonly known as 'The Gude and Godlie Ballates,' and associated with the names of John and Robert Wedderburn, there is a Scottish rendering of the 23d Psalm, of which these are the opening lines:—

> "The Lord God is my Pastor gude,
> Aboundantly me for to feid;
> Then how can I be destitute
> Of ony gude thing in my neid?"[49]

The reference in the Form for the election of a Superintendent may be to this rendering of the psalm, as the composition of most of the "Godlie Ballates," judging from

[47] ". . . The Lord Jesus; to quhome, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, prayse, and glory, now and ever. So be it."

[48] Knox's 'Works,' vol. ii. p. 150; Dunlop's 'Collection,' vol. ii. p. 636.

[49] 'A Compendious Book of Psalms and Spiritual Songs, commonly known as "The Gude and Godlie Ballates."' Edinburgh: Reprinted from the edition of 1578. M.DCCC.LXVIII. Preface by Dr David Laing. P. 79.

the language employed, may be attributed to the middle of the sixteenth century, and even to an earlier date, if we are to be guided by the history of their reputed authors.

There is, however, greater probability attaching to the supposition that the version intended to be sung is one to be found in the metrical psalms of the Book of Geneva, as also in that of the Book of Common Order, which has William Whittingham for its maker, and the opening verse of which is—

> "The Lord is onely my supporte,
> And he that doeth me fede:
> How can I then lack anything
> Whereof I stand in nede?"[50]

Although there is uncertainty attaching to the date of it, there has always been associated with the foregoing Form and Order another Reformation document of similar purport—viz., "The Order of the Election of Elders and Deacons." With the contents of this Order, interesting as they are in themselves and in other connections, we do not now concern ourselves further than to note that at a certain stage of the service, after there has been a saying of the Lord's Prayer and a "rehearsal of the belief," there comes this rubric: "After which shall be sung this portion of the 103 Psalm, verse 19, '*The Heavens high are made the Seat*,' and so forth to the end of that Psalm."[51]

The quotation is from a version of the 103d Psalm which formed one of forty-four published in 1549 by John Hopkins, the greater number of which came from the pen of Thomas Sternhold. This same rendering finds a place in the Psalter both of the Book of Geneva and of the Book of Common Order.

Turning now to the Book of Common Order itself, we shall note, first, the references to congregational singing in the rubrics of the earlier prose portion; and, second, the pro-

[50] Knox's 'Works,' vol. vi. p. [335].

[51] Ibid., vol. ii. p. 154.

vision made in the metrical part of the volume for giving effect to these directions.

The references to singing in the Forms both of the Book of Geneva and of the Book of Common Order are few in number, and are of a twofold nature, either pertaining to praises in general, or specifying certain psalms appropriate to particular services.

Of the former class there are only two. (1) After a "Confession used in time of extreme trouble," before sermon, there occurs this direction: "This done, the people sing a Psalm all together, in a plain tune."[52] (2) At the close of the "general prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church," which is to be offered after sermon, and which concludes with the Belief, the rubric directs, "Then the people sing a Psalm."[53]

The references to particular psalms are also two in number. (1) After setting forth "the manner of the Lord's Supper," the closing direction begins, as we have already had occasion to state, in these words: "The action thus ended, the people sing the 103 Psalm, 'My soul give laude,' &c., or some other of thanksgiving."[54] (2) In the Form of Marriage, the exhortation, the putting and answering of questions, and the charging of the couple "to live a chaste and holy life together, in godly love, in Christian peace, and good example," lead up to a commending them to God "in this or such like sort: 'The Lord sanctify and bless you! The Lord pour the riches of His grace upon you, that ye may please Him, and live together in holy love to your lives' end. So be it.'" The marriage service then concludes after this fashion: "Then is sung the 128 Psalm, 'Blessed are they that fear the Lord,' &c., or some other appertaining to the same purpose."[55]

While the references, general and specific, to congregational

[52] Ibid., vol. vi. p. 297.
[53] Ibid., p. 298.
[54] Ibid., p. 326.
[55] Ibid., p. 327.

praise in the earlier half of the Scottish Book of Common Order are thus few in number, the provision for this part of divine service is more ample than in any preceding version of the Frankfort-Geneva Book. So largely did the metrical matter bulk in the volume, or so important did it appear in the eyes of the people using it, that from an early date in the seventeenth century the entire book was styled, "The Psalms of David in Metre, . . . whereunto is added Prayers commonly used in the kirk and private houses."

When a comparison is instituted between the metrical portion of the Book of Common Order printed at Edinburgh in 1564-65, and that of the Book of Geneva imprinted by John Crespin in 1556 for the use of the English congregation there, they are found to differ in two respects.

*First*, The Psalter of the former forms a complete metrical version of the Hebrew Book of Psalms.

The second portion of the Book of Geneva purports to contain "One-and-fifty Psalms of David in English Metre, whereof 37 were made by Thomas Sternhold, and the rest by others. Conferred with the Hebrew, and in certain places corrected, as the text and sense of the Prophet required." What an advance had been made upon this selection by the time the Book of Common Order was published can be gathered from the seventeenth item in the contents of the Book: "The 150 Psalms of David in metre."

The growth from a selection of 51 to the completed number, 150, had been gradual. Thus in 1560 fourteen versions were added, bringing the number up to 65, and in the following year the number was increased to 87. In its completed form the Psalter of the Book of Common Order embodied the labours of no fewer than nine versifiers, if not poets, six of whom were Englishmen, while the remaining three were Scotsmen.[56]

[56] The fullest and most accurate information regarding the successive editions of the Genevan and Scottish Psalters is to be found in Dr Neil

*Second*, The metrical portion of the Scottish Service-book differed from that in the Book of Geneva in drawing its material exclusively from the Hebrew Psalms.

The earliest issue of the Frankfort-Geneva Book, in addition to the "one-and-fiftie Psalms of David," contained a metrical version of the Ten Commandments, the authorship of which can be traced to William Whittingham.[57] When, in 1560, the number of Psalter metrical renderings was increased to sixty-five, there was also an increase in the number of metrical renderings of other portions of Scripture, and the following pieces were added: A prayer after the Commandments, called an "Addition"; The Lord's Prayer; The Creed; The *Benedictus;* The *Magnificat;* The *Nunc Dimittis.* But in 1561, with an increase of Psalter renderings in verse, there was a diminution in the other department of metrical renderings. For while the metrical version of the Commandments was retained, as also that of the Lord's Prayer, with two additional versions subjoined, and a new version of the *Nunc Dimittis* was substituted for that of 1560, all the other pieces were dropped.

In 1562 a Scottish edition of the Book of Geneva, printed by Lekpreuik at Edinburgh, contained no mention of metrical Psalms in "The Contents of the Boke," and no renderings in the book itself,—a feature of this issue which probably was the ground upon which the editor of the 'Phenix' characterised "the Liturgy us'd in the English Church of Geneva" as "a grave demure piece, without either Responses, or Psalms, or Hymns, without fringe or philactery; but terribly fortify'd and pallisado'd with texts of Scripture."[58]

Livingston's standard work, 'The Scottish Metrical Psalter of A.D. 1635.' Glasgow: 1864. There may also be consulted with advantage Dr D. Laing's "Notices regarding the Metrical Versions of the Psalms received by the Church of Scotland," in Baillie's 'Letters and Journals,' vol. iii. pp. 525-554.

[57] "The 'Commandments' appears anonymously in 1556, but in 1561, &c., it is assigned to Whittingham."—Dr Livingston, *ut sup.*, Diss. iii. p. 34.

[58] 'The Phenix: or, a Revival of Scarce and Valuable Pieces from the Re-

When the Book of Common Order appeared in 1565, remodelled for Scottish use, it was found to contain a full metrical Psalter, but no other metrical pieces, in the form either of paraphrases of Scripture passages, or of hymns, to be used in congregational praise.

There is, indeed, a poetical composition in that earliest version of the Book, which, however, is not Scriptural, and was obviously not intended to be sung. It is a "Sonnet," in three stanzas, addressed by William Stewart to the Church of Scotland. In this poetic address the Church is described as the "little Church to whom Christ hath restored the clear lost light of His Evangel pure," and is congratulated upon being now under "the careful cure of such Pastors as truly teach His Word." From the hands of these pastors the Church of Scotland is called upon gratefully to receive

> "All David's Psalmes set foorth in pleasant verse."

A greater gift than this, it is declared, could not be craved, —a gift all the fruit of which the sonnet-writer finds it impossible to set forth—

> "For here thou hast, for everie accident
> That may occurre, a doctrine pertinent." [59]

This poetical effusion disappeared from all subsequent editions of the Scottish praise-book; and the fate which overtook the composer of it was both striking and mysterious. Beginning his public career as Ross Herald, in which capacity he visited Denmark, William Stewart was, on his return from that country, appointed Lyon King-at-Arms, and upon the 22d of February 1567-68 was installed in the Church of St Giles, in presence of the Regent and nobility. Within six months he was deprived of office, and imprisoned at Dumbarton on a charge of conspiracy. Tried at St

motest Antiquity down to the Present Times.' London. M.DCC.VII. Vol. ii., Preface, p. viii.

[59] Knox's 'Works,' vol. vi. p. [334].

Andrews after a twelve months' imprisonment, the charge was disproved. Thereupon he was tried for witchcraft and sorcery, condemned, and sentenced to be burnt. The proceedings at the trial have unfortunately not been recorded; but there is preserved in the Register of the Secret Council a grant to his widow of all his goods and property which had fallen to the Crown, and in that grant he is described as "William Stewart, sometime Lyon King-of-Arms, convict and justified to the dead for certain crimes of witchcraft, necromancy, and other crimes." [60]

In our enumeration of early Reformation manifestoes we have specified the Confession of Faith ratified in 1560, the Book of Discipline subscribed by Lords of Council in January 1560-61, the Form and Order of the election of Superintendents, with the Order of election of Elders and Deacons in March of the same year, and the Book of Common Order sanctioned by the General Assembly in December 1564.

The series is completed when to those mentioned there are added two treatises which in later editions of the Service-book find a place among its contents. The first of these supplementary documents is a treatise on Fasting, called "The Order and Doctrine of the General Fast, appointed by the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, holden at Edinburgh, the 25th day of December 1565;" [61] the other is a form for the restoration of penitents and the excommunication of the obstinate and impenitent, called "The Order of excommunication and of public repentance used in the

[60] In the edition of 1565 there is an address by William Stewart, but it is occupied wholly with the Calendar at the commencement of the volume. Of Stewart, Dr Livingston states, "Nothing is known, but it may be supposed that he was an elder of the Church, and that he had less or more to do with the preparation of the volume."—('The Scot. Met. Psalter,' Diss. ii. p. 13.) The information given above regarding the sonneteer's checkered career and tragic ending was brought to light by Dr Laing. Knox's 'Works,' vol. vi. pp. 334-692.

[61] Knox's 'Works,' vol. vi. pp. [393]-430; Dunlop's 'Collection,' vol. ii. pp. 645-700; Dr Sprott's Reprint, pp. 150-191.

Church of Scotland, and commanded to be printed by the General Assembly of the same, in the month of June 1569." [62]

Valuable and interesting as these treatises are because of the glimpses they give into old Church life in Scotland, and the information they supply regarding the ecclesiastical discipline of Reformation times, there is not much in them bearing upon public worship that need long detain us. In both are to be found the features characteristic of the provision made in the Book of Common Order for common prayers and congregational praise. Thus, the prayer to be offered at the afternoon diet of worship on "the Sunday of Abstinence" is simply "referred unto the Minister"; [63] while at the week-day services during the continuance of the public fasting, along with "certain Psalms and certain Histories to be distinctly read," with "exhortation to be conceived thereupon," there are to be "prayers likewise, as God shall instruct and inspire the Minister or Reader." [64] In the case of "the Exhortations and Prayers of every several Exercise," the compilers state, "we have remitted" them "to be gathered by the discreet Ministers; for time pressed us so, that we could not frame them in such order as was convenient, neither yet thought we it so expedient to pen prayers unto men, as to teach them with what heart and affection, and for what causes we should pray in this great calamity." [65]

[62] Knox, ibid., pp. 447-470. Dunlop, ibid., pp. 703-747. Dr Laing points out that the date "Junij" on the original title-page, and repeated in all subsequent editions, is an error for Julij, the General Assembly having met at Edinburgh on the 5th of the latter month. — Knox's 'Works,' *ut sup.*, p. [448].

[63] Knox, *ut sup.*, p. 420; Dunlop, *ut sup.*, p. 693.

[64] Ibid., pp. 421, 694.

[65] Ibid., pp. 421, 695. That "penned" prayers were to be combined with conceived ones is made evident by such a rubric in the Order of the General Fast as this: "The Sermone ended, the commone prayer shalbe used, that is conteaned in the Psalme booke, the 46. page thereof, beginning thus: 'God

The same general rule determines the nature of the prayers prescribed and provided in the companion Order. The closing rubric of that treatise is couched in these latitude-giving terms: "This Order may be enlarged or contracted as the wisdom of the discreet Minister shall think expedient; For we rather show the way to the ignorant, than prescribe Order to the learned, that cannot be amended." [66]

As with the prayers so also with the praise. For the close of the service, when the form of public repentance is to be followed, the 103d Psalm is specified as suitable to be sung, and when that of excommunication, the 101st; but in both cases there is to be the exercise of discretion, the rubric in the one case being, "Then after shall the Church sing the 103d Psalm, *so much as they think expedient;*" and in the other, "The Assembly shall be dismissed, after they have sung the CI. Psalm, *or one portion thereof, as it shall please the congregation.*" [67]

If there is anything in the requirements and provision of the two supplementary treatises which has no place in the devotional arrangements of the earlier documents, it will be found in that part of the Order of the General Fast which makes provision for private silent prayer. The Confession ended, and the Minister or Reader having distinctly read the 27th and 28th chapters of Deuteronomy, there follows this rubric: "The Minister shall wish every man to descend secretly into himself, to examine his own conscience, wherein he findeth himself guilty before God. The Minister

Almyghtie and heavenly Father.'" The prayer thus referred to is in the Book of Common Order, and is introduced with this rubric: "This Prayer following is used to be said after the Sermon, on the day which is appointed for commune Prayer: and it is very propre for our state and time, to move us to true repentance, and to turne backe God's sharpe roddes which yet threaten us."—Knox, *ut sup.*, p. 304.

[66] Knox, *ut sup.*, p. 470; Dunlop, *ut sup.*, p. 746.

[67] Knox, *ut sup.*, pp. 460-468; Dunlop, *ut sup.*, pp. 727-742.

himself, with the people, shall prostrate themselves, and remain in private meditation a reasonable space, as the quarter of an hour, or more. Thereafter shall the Minister exhort the people to confess with him their sins and offences, as followeth." [68]

Taking a conjunct and general view of the two Forms, it is abundantly evident that in the ordering of the services for public fasting, for the readmission of penitents, and for the excommunication of the obstinately impenitent, much is left to the discretion of officiating ministers—or rather, to use the very language of the compilers, "to the wisdom of the discreet Ministers, who best can judge both what the auditors may bear, and what themselves are able to sustain." [69]

Between the date of publication in the case of the Treatise on Public Fasting (1566) and that of the Form of Excommunication (1569), there issued from the printing-press of Robert Lekpreuik, at Edinburgh, a book, the first of its kind, of which, in its original form, only one perfect copy is known to exist.[70] This is a translation of the Book of Common Order into Gaelic. It was the work of John Carswell, Superintendent of Argyll and the Isles in the early Reformation Church, subsequently Bishop of the Isles, and held in repute by students of Celtic literature as the first to publish any work in the Gaelic language. In the scholarly reprint of this work, edited by the late Dr M'Lauchlan of

[68] Knox, *ut sup.*, p. 419; Dunlop, *ut sup.*, p. 690; Dr Sprott's Reprint, p. 182.

[69] "The tyme that shalbe spent aswell before none as after, must be left to the wisdome of the discrete Ministers, who best can judge both what the auditore may beare, and what themselves are able to sustene. . . . We think that three houres and less, before noune, and two houres at after noune, shalbe sufficient for the whole exercyse publict."—Knox, *ut sup.*, p. 417; Dunlop, *ut sup.*, p. 687.

[70] The work is dedicated to Archibald, Earl of Argyll, whose descendants possess the only perfect copy. There is a copy in the British Museum which wants title-page and several signatures; and a third copy, wanting several leaves, is in Edinburgh University Library.—Dickson and Edmond's 'Annals of Scottish Printing,' chap. xix. pp. 231, 232.

Edinburgh, translator of 'The Book of the Dean of Lismore,' will be found admirably stated all the information now procurable about Bishop Carswell and his undertaking.[71] We content ourselves with noting the following features of interest in this Gaelic Service-book of Reformation times.

*First.* The title-page of the work has an interest of its own: "Forms of Prayer and administration of the Sacraments and Catechism of the Christian faith, here below. According as they are practised in the churches of Scotland which have loved and accepted the faithful gospel of God, on having put away the false faith, turned from the Latin and English into Gaelic by Mr John Carswell, Minister of the Church of God in the bounds of Argyll, whose other name is Bishop of the Isles. *No other foundation can any man lay save that which is laid even Jesus Christ.*—1 Cor. 3. Printed *in Edinburgh,* whose other name is *Dunmony* the 24th day of April 1567. By Robert Lekprevik."

*Second,* A statement at the close of the book, called "A lawful Apology," attracts attention. In this declaration the translator intimates that he lays his account with the ridicule and laughter of men who may mock his little work "because that the language wants the polish of the poets, and because the words want force." To account for the typographical errors that may be detected, it is further stated "the printer had not one word of Gaelic, but printed by chance or by guess." The apology concludes with this peculiarly worded doxology: "To the one God in three persons — viz., the powerful merciful Father, and the fair marvellous Son, and the powerful Holy Spirit, be all praise, honour, and glory, now and for ever, Amen."

*Third,* The imprint on the closing page is peculiar, con-

[71] The Book of Common Order; commonly called John Knox's Liturgy. Translated into Gaelic Anno Domini 1567. By Mr John Carswell, Bishop of the Isles. Edited by Thomas M'Lauchlan, LL.D., translator of 'The Book of the Dean of Lismore.' Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas. MDCCCLXXIII.

taining the following information: "This little book was finished by the Bishop of the Isles on the 24th day of the month of Aprile, in the fifteen hundred and sixty-seventh year of the annals of our Lord Jesus Christ. In the twenty-fifth year of the reign of the most powerful Queen Marie, Queen of Alban,"—the information being followed up with two lines, apparently intended for poetry, to the effect—

> "The Grace of God in its beginning we are,
> It has not yet reached an end."

*Fourth*, The most interesting portion of the contents is a form for blessing a ship on going to sea. For this no original has as yet been discovered in any edition of the Book of Common Order, so that the Bishop of the Isles may safely be credited with its conception and its execution. As it is brief, and gives an instance of responsive service not to be met with elsewhere in Scottish Presbyterian ritual, it will not be out of place to reproduce this manner of blessing an outward-bound ship, as translated for us by the accomplished editor of this unique Gaelic Prayer-book:—

"Let one of the crew say thus: *The Steersman*, Bless our ship. *The rest respond*, May God the Father bless her. *The Steersman*, Bless our ship. *Response*, May Jesus Christ bless her. *The Steersman*, Bless our ship. *Response*, May the Holy Spirit bless her. *The Steersman*, What do ye fear and [seeing] that God the Father is with you? *Response*, We fear nothing. *The Steersman*, What do ye fear and that God the Son is with you? *Response*, We fear nothing. *The Steersman*, What do ye fear and that God the Holy Spirit is with you? *Response*, We fear nothing. *The Steersman*, May the Almighty God, for the sake of His Son Jesus Christ, through the comfort of the Holy Ghost, the one God who brought the children of Israel through the Red Sea miraculously, and brought Jonah to land out of the whale's belly, and brought the apostle Paul, and his ship, with the crew, out of the great tempest, and out of the fierce storm, save us, and sanctify us, and bless us, and carry us on with quiet and favouring winds, and comfort, over the sea, and into the harbour, according to His own good will.

Which thing we desire from Him, saying, Our Father which art in heaven, &c. *Let all the rest say*, So be it." [72]

All students of ancient usages know how firmly these hold their place, how slowly the old order gives place to a new. It was so in the case of those forms of service which the Book of Common Order was intended to supersede. Even after provision had been made for the Reformed ritual being followed in both the Lowlands and Highlands of Scotland, there were parts of the country in which Romish rites and forms probably Anglican continued to be practised.

That the old Anglo-Roman worship was not wholly discontinued till a considerable time after the Reformation appears from the action taken by several of the early General Assemblies of the Reformed Church. Representations were from time to time made to the secular powers, urging that sharp punishment be inflicted upon all idolaters and maintainers thereof who, "in contempt of God, the true religion, and acts of Parliament, either said Mass, caused it to be said, or were present at the celebration." Places infected with this form of idolatry were specified, including such districts as Nithsdale and Galloway, Fifeshire, Ayrshire, East Lothian, the Ettrick Forest; and persons chargeable with the sin in various of its forms were enumerated—among them being Earls and Lairds; [73] Abbots,[74] Priors,[75] and Curates; [76] "the auld Ladie Hoome in Thornetoun," "the goodman of Gallowscheils," and the parishioners of Maybole, Girvan, Kirkoswald, and Dailly.[77] It would appear that the celebration of the Sac-

[72] Dr M'Lauchlan's Reprint, *ut sup.*, pp. 240, 241. For Highland prayer before sermon, see Appendix F of this work.

[73] "In Nithesdaile and Galloway: The Laird of Kirkmichaell, who causes Masse daylie to be said, and images holden up, and idolatrie to be mantained within his bounds."—'The B.U.K,' 1560. Part I. Maitland Club ed., p. 6.

[74] "The abbot of Corsraguell."—Ibid.

[75] "The Pryor of Whitherne and his servants in Crugletone."—Ibid.

[76] "The curate of Currie for abusing the Sacraments."—Ibid.

[77] "The parochiners of Mayboill, Girvan, Oswald, and Dalay, within the kirk whereof Messe is openly said and mantained."—Ibid.

rament of the altar was not discontinued in Scotland till after 1574, for in May of that year a priest was hanged in Glasgow for a violation of the law of the land in celebrating the illegal ordinance.[78]

And Romish practices were not confined to the one sacrament. Meeting on Christmas-day 1565, the Assembly pronounced sentence of excommunication upon all persons who, in addition to receiving the sacrament of the altar, offered their children for baptism "after the Papistical manner." Two years later the Assembly required to deal with a complaint given in against "my Lady Argyle," charging her with giving "assistance and presence to the baptising of the king [James VI.] in a Papistical manner," the offence being aggravated, in the opinion of her accusers, by the fact that she had been at the table of the Lord Jesus, and there professed His evangel. The bearing of the offender and the punishment inflicted will appear in the following extract from the 'Book of the Universal Kirk': "The said Lady being present, granted that she had offended to the eternal God, and had been a slander to the Kirk in committing the premiss, and therefore willingly submitted herself to the discipline of the Kirk and discretion of them. Therefore the Kirk ordains the said Lady to make public repentance in the Chapel-Royal of Stirling, upon a Sunday in time of preaching, and this to be done at such time as the Kirk hereafter shall appoint by the superintendent of Lothian, providing always it be before the next Assembly."[79]

As in the case of Romish ritual, so also with that based upon the offices of the English Prayer-book—there was a

[78] 'Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland,' Bannatyne Club ed., p. 341. George Buchanan, in his account of the execution of Archbishop Hamilton in 1571, states that the priest on whose evidence mainly that prelate was condemned, himself suffered death for saying Mass a third time. Buchanan's statement of dates is not to be relied upon, and both historian and journalist may be referring to the same person—Thomas Robison, at one time schoolmaster at Paisley.

[79] 'B.U.K.,' 1567, p. 117, Mait. Club ed. An account of the baptism, which took place at Stirling, is given in the 'Diurnal,' &c. *ut sup.* "Thir solem-

survival of Anglican forms even after the authorising of the Presbyterian Book of Common Order. This appears from a valuable document brought to light within recent years, and printed in "The Miscellany" of the Wodrow Society. This short paper has for title, "The Form and Manner of Burial used in the Kirk of Montrose"; it bears no date, but has been, on good grounds, assigned to a period subsequent to the Reformation and prior to 1581, and it is in a handwriting belonging to the latter years of the sixteenth century.

The directions for burial in the Reformation standards are largely prohibitive; they make little or no provision for services, either public or private, in the house or at the churchyard. To guard against superstition and idolatry, the Book of Discipline prohibited such practices as singing of *Mass, Placebo, Dirige,* while it discountenanced preaching, singing, and reading, seeing superstitious people might think these things engaged in by the living were intended to profit the dead.[80] All the compilers allowed for was, to use their own words, "that the Dead be conveyed to the place of burial, with some honest company of the Kirk, without either singing or reading; yea, without all kind of ceremony heretofore used, other than that the dead be committed to the grave, with such gravity and sobriety as those that be present may seem to fear the judgments of God, and to hate sin, which is the cause of death."[81]

nities," states the anonymous chronicler, "endit with singing and playing on organis."—P. 104.

[80] "Buriall in all aiges hath bene holden in estimatioun, to signifie that the same body that was committed to the earth should not utterlie perishe, but should ryse agane. And the same we wold have keapt within this Realme, provided that superstitioun, idolatrie, and whatsoever hath proceaded of a fals opinioun, and for advantage saik, may be avoyded; as singing of Messe, Placebo, and Dirige, and all other prayeris over or for the dead, are not onlie superfluous and vane, but also ar idolatrie, and do repugne to the plane Scriptures of God. . . . For avoiding all inconvenientis, we judge it best that neather singing nor reading be at the Buryall."—"Off Buriall," Knox's 'Works,' vol. ii. pp. 249, 250; Dunlop's 'Collection,' vol. ii. pp. 596, 597.

[81] *Ut sup.*

The section "Of Buryall" in the Book of Common Order is very brief, not to say bald, and only grants a liberty of exhortation to the minister under carefully guarded conditions. The entire section is contained in these lines: "The Corpse is reverently brought to the grave, accompanied with the Congregation, without any further Ceremonies; which being buried, the Minister, if he be present, and required, goeth to the Church, if it be not far off, and maketh some comfortable exhortation to the people, touching Death and Resurrection." [82]

In the Montrose Form and Manner of Burial there is a disregard both of the spirit and the letter of these restrictions and requirements. For the Order contains a service in three parts.

*First, Exhortation.* — The body having been reverently brought to the grave, accompanied by the congregation, "the Minister or Reader" is to give, as provided in the Order, an address of some length, in which are several Scripture quotations taken from Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, and the doctrinal teaching of which is distinctly Protestant.

*Second, Prayer.*—"This being done," is the direction given, "the Minister shall pray in effect as follows." The prayer is, with some slight variations, that which appeared as part of "the Order for the burial of the dead" in the Church of England Book of Common Prayer in 1552. It differs from that in the version of 1549, or the First Prayer-book of Edward VI., chiefly in the rigid exclusion of all supplications for the soul of the departed; and it is substantially the prayer of the version of the Prayer-book at present in use, beginning, "Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord, and with whom the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity."

[82] Knox's 'Works,' vol. vi. p. 333; Dunlop's 'Collection,' vol. ii. p. 468.

*Third, Singing.*—A hymn in the Scottish vernacular, conconsisting of twelve stanzas, follows the Anglican prayer, and at the end of the MS. two staves are drawn, the musical notes being unfortunately omitted, but inadvertently, as would appear from the words that are added: "This Sang is to be sung eftir this tune."

The words of the hymn can be traced back to the Wedderburn's "Compendious Book of Psalms and Spiritual Songs," the variations between the two versions being mostly in spelling, and in collocation of words not affecting the meaning. The original of the first eight stanzas of this quaint and beautiful funeral hymn is the composition of Michael Weiss, a minister of the Bohemian Church, who in 1531 translated the hymns of the Bohemian Brethren into German; the four closing stanzas of the Wedderburn collection and the Montrose burial service, having no counterpart in the German texts, may be taken to be original. The German original, with the music, is to be found in the Nuremberg collection of 1570, and an English translation of the hymn is given by Miss Winkworth in the Second Series of the "Lyra Germanica," the translation being reprinted, with the original tune harmonised, in "The Chorale Book for England," London, 1863.[83]

With its Scottish exhortation, English prayer, and German hymn, the post-Reformation form of burial, as used in the Kirk of Montrose, yields interesting material for a study of the survival of ancient usages.

It is all the more remarkable that this Order should have had even local observance, when it is considered how carefully the reformed Church of Scotland guarded the purity of her Service-book. Of the Church's vigilance in this particular an illustration was given in 1568, when an Edinburgh printer

[83] For "The Forme and Maner of Buriall used in the Kirk of Montrois," see 'The Miscellany of the Wodrow Society,' pp. 291-300. For the prayer and the hymn collated with other forms, see Appendix G of this work.

incurred ecclesiastical displeasure and censure. By the Assembly of 1563 it had been made matter of statute and ordinance that no work "touching religion or doctrine" be printed nor circulated in writing until such time as it had been submitted to the Superintendent of the diocese for the revision and approval of himself and as many of the most learned within the bounds as he may call to his aid. Should the examiners be in doubt regarding any matter raised in the work, they are to report to the Assembly.[84]

Either in ignorance or in defiance of this ordinance, Thomas Bassandyne, a noted craftsman of the sixteenth century, printed two books in 1568 without having obtained the necessary municipal licence and ecclesiastical sanction. One of the books [85] was an edition of the Book of Common Order, briefly termed a Psalm-book. After publication it was found by the Church censors to contain, in addition to its sacred contents, a secular composition in verse, which the ecclesiastical court regarded with great disfavour, and to which it applied an epithet of extreme severity.[86] "The said Thomas" was immediately ordained, by a unanimous resolution of the Assembly, first, to call in again all copies of the work already sold, and then to keep back from publication all the unsold ones until he had cancelled the page containing the obnoxious song. Till recently the song in question could not be traced, no copy of the edition of the metrical Psalter into which it had been unwarrantably foisted having escaped confiscation. The mystery has, however, been cleared up, and that in an unexpected way. At the sale of the literary effects of a Dundee teacher, one lot of odds and ends sold for the modest sum of eightpence. In that lot there was found by the pur-

[84] 'The B. of the U.K. of Scot.,' 1563. Part First, p. 35. Mait. Club ed.

[85] The name of the other book was, 'The Fall of the Romane Kirk.' No copy of the book has been discovered. The same holds good of the "psalme booke."—Dickson and Edmond's 'Annals of Scot. Printing,' chaps. xxi., xxii.

[86] "Ane baudie song callit 'Welcum Fortoun.'"—'The B.U.K.,' *ut sup.*, pp. 125, 126.

chaser an imperfect copy of an early edition of the Wedderburns' 'Compendious Book,' or 'Gude and Godlie Ballates,' to which the name of "Dundie Psalmes" would seem from an early date to have been given, owing probably to the Wedderburn connection with that town. The imprint of this valuable fragment bears the date 1567, eleven years earlier than the date of the edition from which Dr Laing prepared his reprint, and only one year prior to that in which Bassandyne came under the censure of the Church. In this rare find there is a composition of five stanzas which has dropped from subsequent editions of the collection, and which has for opening verse these four lines:—

> "Welcume Fortoun, welcum againe,
> The day and hour I may weill blis,
> Thou hes exilit all my paine,
> Quhilk to my hart greit plesour is." [87]

This, there can be no reasonable doubt, is the poetical piece which the Edinburgh printer unwittingly or contumaciously inserted in one of his editions of the Church's Book of Common Order. It turns out to be a purely secular love-song, to neither the sentiment nor the language of which, judged as a literary product, can any objection be taken on the score of morality. Evidently the head and front of the offence committed by the reprimanded typographer was the inserting of what was certainly neither psalm, hymn, nor spiritual song in an issue of the Psalms of David in metre, doing so without licence and without sanction from the constituted authorities of Church and State.

This vigilant guarding of the contents of the Book of Common Order from unauthorised liberties did not, however, stand in the way of alterations being made from time to time with the knowledge and approval of the Church. Many of the editions subsequent to 1564-65 can only be regarded as reissues, distinguished from one another by greater or less

[87] The complete song will be found in Appendix H of this volume.

degrees of accuracy in the printing of the literary contents and the musical notation.

There are, however, two early editions of the Scottish Presbyterian book of forms and material, the metrical portions of which present distinctly new features calling for some notice.

*First*, In 1575 the Edinburgh printer already mentioned published a volume having for title: "The CL. Psalms of David in English metre. With the Form of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, &c., used in the Church of Scotland. Whereunto besides that was in the former books, are added also sundry other Prayers, with a new and exact Kalendar for xvi. years next to come." [88]

It will be remembered that from the first complete Scottish metrical Psalter, issued in 1564-65, all spiritual songs outside the Hebrew Psalm and Prayer Book were excluded. In Bassandyne's issue of 1575, however, metrical compositions, such as had a place in the earlier Books of Geneva, reappear, and Scottish congregations had for the first time in their hands an enlarged psalmody, containing metrical compositions additional to the Psalms of David. These consist of the Lord's Prayer, the Commandments, a Prayer addressed direct to Christ, a Lamentation, and the *Veni Creator*.

Another distinctive feature of the 1575 edition of the Presbyterian Service-book is the insertion at the very end of the book of what then went by the name of a "conclusion," or the "*Gloria Patri*," being in substance, though not in name, a doxology.[89] Why there should be only one such composi-

[88] Of this edition no complete copy is known. A copy in the library of the late Dr D. Laing had the Psalms entire, but wanted several leaves of the Prayers and Catechism. Another copy in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, has the Prayers and Catechism perfect, but the Psalms are wanting. A third copy, with the general title, Kalendar and Psalms (but wanting all the Prayers and Catechism), is now also in the Bodleian. Pressmark, Mason CC, 84.—Dickson and Edmond's 'Annals,' &c., chap. xxii. p. 310.

[89] Students of Hooker will here recall the magnificent passage in book v. "touching the Hymn of Glory, our usual conclusion to Psalms," in which it

tion in the book, why it should be apparently restricted in its use to the close of one psalm and that one the 148th, it seems impossible now to determine.

*Second*, In 1595-96 there issued from the printing-press of another Edinburgh typographer, Henry Charteris by name,[90] a work which may fitly be described as epoch-marking in the history of Scottish Presbyterian worship.

While the prose division of the volume contains the "Prayers and Catechism according to the form used in the Kirk of Scotland," with a slight variation in the order of contents, special interest attaches to the metrical portion, as may be gathered from its title, which runs thus: "The Psalms of David in Metre. According as they are sung in the Kirk of Scotland. Together with the Conclusion or Gloria Patri after the Psalm: and also a Prayer after every Psalm, agreeing with the meaning thereof."[91]

The conclusions or doxologies are thirty-two in number—

is asked "if that joyful Hymn of Glory have any use in the Church of God whose name we therewith extol and magnify, can we place it more fitly than where now it serveth as a close or conclusion to Psalms?"—'Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity,' book v. chap. xlii. [7], pp. 565, 566 of two-vol. ed. of 'Works.' Oxford: M.DCCC.LXV. And lovers of Robert Browning will think of the closing lines of his "Christmas-Eve":—

> "I put up pencil and join chorus
> To Hepzibah Tune, without further apology,
> The last five verses of the third section
> Of the seventeenth hymn of Whitfield's Collection,
> To conclude with the doxology."—'Poetical Works,' vol. v. p. 165.

[90] "There is perhaps no Scottish printer whose name is more honoured by those who love the vernacular poetry of the country than that of the worthy burgess of Edinburgh, Henry Charteris."—Dickson and Edmond, *ut sup.*, chap. xxvii. p. 348.

[91] A copy of this edition of the Book of Common Order is in the British Museum (pressmark, 3436, f. 16). It is very imperfect, but has the date 1595 on the title-page of the second part. Another copy is in Cambridge University Library, lacking the first title-page, but otherwise perfect. A third copy was in the private collection of the late Dr D. Laing. A facsimile of the title-page of part second is given by Dr Livingston, 'Scot. Met. Psalter,' "Facsimiles from various editions," p. 72. The Scottish Doxologies of this Psalter will be found in Appendix I of this work.

a number equal to that of the musical forms, there being one for each particular metre. The contention of some, that the "conclusion" was not employed in divine service earlier than 1595, or at least than 1575,[92] cannot now be upheld in view of an explicit reference to Protestant use of doxologies made by Ninian Winzet, the able defender of the old unreformed Church, which has hitherto escaped notice in this connection. Among the eighty-three questions touching doctrine, order, and manners published at Antwerp in 1563 by the ex-schoolmaster of Linlithgow, and delivered to John Knox, with a challenge to answer them if he could, one (the 67th) was thus drawn up: "Why do you, Calvinian Preachers, sing with us Catholics at the end of every psalm, Glory be to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, &c., seeing that godly form of praise was first ordered to be sung by Pope Damasus as a rebuke to heretics?"[93] The very construction of such a question, pointing as it does, not to the simple repeating, but to *the singing*, of doxologies by Scottish Protestants, would seem to indicate that they had association with psalm-singing from the very beginning of the Reformation movement.

In this connection it may be pointed out that the Wedderburn Collection of Psalms and Spiritual Songs, with some if not all of which Winzet was presumably acquainted, contains Scottish doxologies, of which this, occurring at the

[92] Dr Livingston, *ut sup.*, Diss. I., p. 4.

[93] 'The Buke of Four Scoir Thre Questions, tuching Doctrine, Ordour and Maneris . . . sett furth be Ninian Winzet a Catholik Preist.' . . . 1563. Antverpiae. "67. Of the forme, Gloir to the Father, &c., in end of euery Psalme." This treatise of Winzet, along with 'Certain Tractates,' was reprinted by Bishop Keith in the Appendix to his 'History' (Spott. Soc. ed., vol. ii.) Both the Buke of Questions and the Tractates, as also 'The Last Blast' and 'Translation of Vincentius Lirinensis,' were published by the Maitland Club in one vol., with a Memoir by J. B. Gracie. But the edition *facile princeps* of the vernacular writings of Winzet is that in two vols. printed by the Scottish Text Society, 1887-1891, edited by J. K. Hewison, M.A., F.S.A. Scot., minister of Rothesay. The editor's Introduction, Appendix, Notes, and Glossary, are all models of editing.

close of a hymn upon our Lord's nativity, may be taken as a specimen:—

> "To God the Father *mot* be *gloir*, may, glory.
> And *als* to Christ for euer moir, also.
> The Haly Gaist mot blissit be,
> Wirkar of this Natiuitie."[94]

The other outstanding feature in the metrical part of the 1595 edition of the Book of Common Order is that referred to in the words of the title, "Ane Prayer efter everie Psalme." The exact number of the devotional prose forms is 149, those following two of the Psalms (the 107th and 108th) being, with two unimportant variations, the same. The closing ten in this unique collection of prayers are brief simple breathings of desire directed to Him who is addressed as "dear Father," "good God," "puissant God of armies"; while the earlier pieces constitute a collection of 139 Scottish collects, each containing, in observance of liturgical rules, an Invocation, a Petition, and a Conclusion.

What use these prayers were intended to serve cannot be affirmed with certainty. Their having a place in the Psalter of the Church might seem to point to use in public worship; on the other hand, their appearing in only one edition of the Church's Service-book, and the absence of reference to them in any subsequent readjustment of sanctuary service, favour the supposition that they were simply intended for the private use, guidance, and edification of those who possessed the volume.[95]

But the most curious circumstance connected with these Scottish prayers is one relating to their authorship. As recently as 1864, Dr Livingston, our greatest living authority on Scottish psalmody, when directing attention to them and

[94] 'The Gude and Godlie Ballates.' Paterson's edition, p. 68.

[95] Dr Livingston favours the latter view. 'The Scot. Met. Psalter,' *ut sup.*, p. 37.

reproducing them in their entirety, confessed to a lack of information regarding their origin, in the absence of which he was disposed to regard them as of purely Scottish extraction. In 1885, however, another minister of the Free Church, who has rendered valuable service in this department of historical research—the Rev. Dr Bannerman of Perth—came upon a copy of the Marot and Beza French Psalter among the books of the Innerpeffray Library, Perthshire. The title of the little volume ends with a statement which stimulated curiosity and closer examination. It was in these words; "And a Prayer at the end of each Psalm by M. Augustin Marlorat."[96] An inspection of the appended prayers convinced the finder that for all practical purposes the Scottish "Prayers on the Psalms" of 1595 are simply translations of the French "Oraisons." Augustin Marlorat, whose name appears on the Huguenot Psalter, was an honoured theologian, devotional writer, and reformer of the sixteenth century, the friend of Calvin, the coadjutor of Beza, and ultimately a victim of Roman Catholic intolerance and cruelty at the siege and capture of Rouen in 1562.

It may be possible for future investigators to trace some of the French prayers in substance and modified form to the contents of early pre-Reformation service-books, from which so much good material was taken by both Continental and English compilers of liturgies and psalters; but in a matter of this kind the judgment of M. Bovet, historian of the Psalter of the Reformed Churches, is entitled to great weight, and he holds that "Marlorat was the original and the only author of the prayers which bear his name."[97] In any case,

[96] The full title of this interesting volume, which I have personally examined, is: 'Les CL. Pseaumes de David, mis en rime Françoise par Clement Marot et Theodore Beze. Avec la prose en marge, comme elle est en la Bible, et un Oraison à la fin d'un chacun Pseaume par M. Augustin Marlorat.' A Paris. Par Pierre Haultin: 1567.

[97] "Le primitif et le seul auteur."—'Histoire du Psautier des Eglises Reformées.' Neuchatel: 1872.

enough has been done in thus tracing a connection between the Scottish prayers and those of the Church of the Huguenots to justify that connection being taken to furnish "a fresh evidence of the close and cordial relations which subsisted from the first between the Reformed Churches of the Continent and the Church of Scotland."[98]

With the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the accession of James to the throne of England in 1603, the Church of Scotland entered upon a period of trouble and conflict from which ultimate relief was obtained only by the Revolution of 1688, when the Stewarts were righteously dispossessed of the throne of Great Britain. All through the two-and-twenty years of the century during which James VI. of Scotland and I. of England was reigning sovereign, the Reformed Church took no legislative action of any importance affecting the conduct of divine service. A movement in the direction of revision was indeed initiated in an Assembly which ought to have met at St Andrews, but which, owing to the king's indisposition, was held at Burntisland, the king, "with his Commissioners of the Nobility and Burghs," being present.[99] At that Assembly, on the 16th of May 1601, several measures of revision were proposed. One proposal was to correct "sundry errors in the vulgar translation of the Bible;" another to do the same in the case of the metrical version of the Psalms; and a third to alter "sundry prayers in the Psalm-book in respect they are not convenient for the time."[100] None of these proposals resulted in any common action being then taken. In the case of the

[98] Dr Bannerman in 'Presbyterian Review' (vol. vii. 1886, pp. 151-155). "Origin of the Scottish Collects of 1595: A Discovery." For the prayers in their entirety, see Appendix K of this work.

[99] "The Generall Assemblie of the Kirk of Scotland, haldin at Bruntiland, the 12 day of May 1601 yeirs. In the quhilk the King's Majestie, with his Commissioners of the Nobilitie and Burrowes, were present."—'The B.U.K. of Scot.,' 1600. Part Third. Maitland Club ed.

[100] Ibid., p. 970.

metrical Psalter, the conclusion come to was "that the same be revised by Mr Robert Pont, minister at St Cuthbert's Church [Edinburgh], and his travels to be revised at the next Assembly." As regards the prayers, it was not thought good that those already contained in the Service-book be altered or omitted; but if any brother wished to have other prayers added as being suitable for the times, the Assembly ordained the same to be first tried and then sanctioned by some future Assembly.[101]

All through the stages of the crisis, however, which ended in the temporary and enforced ascendancy of episcopal government, editions of the Book of Common Order continued to issue from the press. Some of these were printed abroad at such places as Dort and Middleburgh; some at Aberdeen by Edward Raban, of whom more hereafter; but the greater number at Edinburgh. What Lekpreuik and Bassandyne had been in the sixteenth century—privileged printers of ecclesiastical literature—Andro Hart became in the century following.

One of Hart's editions, bearing date 1615, has a novel if not notable feature. After the treatise on Public Fasting, drawn up in 1565, and before the twelve tunes to which it is intimated all psalms of common measure may be sung, there is inserted a metrical piece called "The Song of Moses." The composition is prefaced by a statement from the printer of the reason that led to its insertion.

Being in conversation with a godly brother to whom he made known his intention of reprinting the Psalter, this friend expressed surprise that "The Song of Moses" had never found a place in any earlier edition. Moved by the representations of this adviser, Andro Hart requested him to cast the song into English metre, with a view to insertion in the forthcoming issue. The result was the appearing, for the first time, of a metrical paraphrase of the 32d chapter of

[101] Ibid., pp. 970, 971.

Deuteronomy, broken up into six parts, a prose summary of each part being given at its commencement in the margin.[102]

Attached to the song in this edition of 1615 are the initials "J. M." These stand for James Melville, minister of Kilrenny, in Fife, and the nephew of the more widely known Andrew Melville.[103] While creditable to the piety of the versifier, this product of his labours has done nothing to extend the reputation of one whose racy autobiography and diary sufficiently guard his name from oblivion. Although it continued to appear in successive editions of the Scottish praise-book down to the time when a new version was adopted, James Melville's setting of the grand old Hebrew song failed to secure a place in modern collections of Paraphrases and Hymns, and is not likely to find one in any future compilation, however large and varied.

Leaving it to his grandson to make the announcement that Presbyterianism is unworthy of the fine gentleman, King James formed the conclusion that Episcopacy is the form of Church polity most favourable to the designs of a despot. And so his first move towards bringing the northern kingdom into ecclesiastical conformity with that of the south was to have himself declared by the Scottish Parliament of 1606 absolute prince, judge, and governor over all persons, estates, and causes, both spiritual and temporal; to revive the order of prelates, restoring to such the status of a hundred years back, that status including livings, prerogatives, and place in Parliament; and to reorganise the institution of chapters, which had been suppressed. Having by acts of intimidation, usurpation, and despotic cruelty, fashioned the government of the Church of Scotland to his liking, James proceeded to deal with the Church's ritual. The first step in

[102] The musical direction for the public singing of the composition is, "Sing this as the 32 Psalme."

[103] A manuscript volume in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, known to be in the handwriting of James Melville, contains the same rendering of the Scripture passage.

this direction was the issuing of a royal proclamation at the Cross of Edinburgh, requiring all ministers to celebrate Holy Communion on Easter-day, the 24th of April 1614, and calling upon all members to communicate in their respective parish churches.[104] But graver measures were in contemplation. Being in London at the time when, through the death of Gladstanes, the primacy of all Scotland was in the gift of the Crown, James Spottiswoode, then Archbishop of Glasgow, secured this piece of preferment for himself. At the same time consultation took place between him and his royal patron as to what still constituted *desiderata* in the polity of the northern Church. In the judgment both of the king and of the prelatic Scotsmen these included a good many things, prominent among them being "a form of divine service,"[105] orders to be followed in the election of archbishops and bishops, in the electing of elders and their ordination, forms for marriage, baptism, and administration of the Holy Supper, and a service for confirmation "most profitable for children, but wanting in our Church."

A movement towards supplying what was thus deemed lacking in Scottish ritual was made when, at the request of the pliant bishops, a General Assembly was summoned to meet at Aberdeen in August 1616.

To those Lords and Barons, Archbishops, Bishops, and Commissioners from Presbyteries who there assembled, and

[104] "The true intent was to try how the people wold beare with alterations and innovations in the worship of God. The most part obeyed, but not all."—Calderwood, 'Historie,' 1614. Vol. ii. p. 191 of Wod. Soc. ed. "This was *justly* supposed to be a preparation for other measures which were soon to follow."—Prof. Grub, 'Hist.,' vol. ii. chap. xlv. p. 300.

[105] "Articles required for the service of the Church of Scotland—1. There is lacking in our Church a form of divine service; and while every minister is left to the framing of public prayer by himself, both the people are neglected and their prayers prove often impertinent." (A paper in the handwriting of Spottiswoode.)—'Orig. Letters relating to the Eccl. Aff. of Scot.,' vol. ii. p. 445. Cited by Prof. Grub, *ut sup.*, p. 305, and by Dr Sprott in Introd. to 'Scot. Liturgies of the Reign of James Sixth.' Edin.: 1871. Pp. xv, xvi.

over whom the primate claimed a royal warrant to preside,[106] the King's Commissioner submitted certain "instructions" sent by his Majesty to be proposed to "this present Assemblie." Of these royal instructions, the eighth was in these terms: "That a Liturgie be made, and form of divine service, which shall be read in every church in common prayer, and before preaching every Sabbath, by the Reader, where there is one, and where there is none, by the Minister, before he conceive his own prayer, that the common people may learn it, and by custom serve God rightly."[107] Before the Assembly broke up, but not till the last session was reached and ministers from the south had begun to leave, decisions were registered giving effect to all the king's wishes. In the matter of public worship, it was resolved that a uniform order of service be drawn up, to be read in all churches at all meetings for prayer, and on every Lord's Day before sermon.[108] To give effect to this resolution, a committee of four were appointed, with instructions to revise the Book of Common Order, and to set down a form of service to be used in all time hereafter. By the close of 1616, or the beginning

[106] "The King ordained, by his Letter, the Primat to rule the Clergie, and his Commissioner. the Earl of Montrose, to order the Laitie. . . . So Mr John Spotswood, Archbishop of Sanct Androis, stepped into the Moderator's place without election."—'The B.U.K. of Scotland,' *ut sup.*, p. 1116.

[107] Ibid., p. 1123. Calderwood's 'Hist.,' 1616, vol. vii. pp. 105, 106, Wod. Soc. ed.

[108] "Item, It is statute and ordainit that ane vniforme ordour of Liturgie or Divyne Service be sett down to be red in all Kirks, on the ordinaire dayes of prayer, and every Sabbath day befor the sermoun. . . . And to this intent, the Assemblie hes appointit the saids Mr Patrick Galloway . . . to revise the Booke of Commoun Prayers containit in the Psalme Booke, and to sett downe ane commoune forme of ordinaire service, to be vsed in all tyme heirafter."—Ibid., *ut sup.*, pp. 1127, 1128. "The term 'Liturgy' had not previously been in use to express a form of prayer in Scotland. It must be remembered, however, that although the Assembly of 1616 probably did not nourish any innovation approaching that of the Service-book of 1637, their Acts as an Assembly were afterwards repudiated, and they were treated as prelatical usurpers, who had interrupted the government of the Church according to the legitimate Presbyterian order."—Dr J. H. Burton, 'The Hist. of Scot.,' chap. lxviii., "Charles I.," vol. vi. p. 116.

of the following year, some progress had been made either by the committee or by an individual member thereof. For there is in existence the MS. of a draft liturgy which has written on the last sheet, "Howatt's Form of Prayer." The Rev. Peter Ewat, Hewat, or Howatt, one of the Edinburgh ministers, was a member of the liturgical committee, and it is highly probable that he had been made convener by his fellow-members, and in that capacity had drafted what bears his name, while it has for fuller title a description closely resembling the terms employed by the Aberdeen Assembly.[109]

Immediately after, if not even earlier than, the Assembly of 1616, King James had summarised his scheme of uniformity with Anglican usage under five heads. Dissuaded from bringing these articles forward when first drafted, and foiled in his endeavours to have them adopted by the Assembly that met in St Andrews shortly after his return from Scotland, where he had an opportunity of showing his northern subjects how he liked divine service conducted and sacraments dispensed,[110] the headstrong monarch resolved to force

[109] "A Form of Service to be used in all the Parish Churches of Scotland upon the Sabbath Day by the Readers where there are any established, and where there are no Readers by the Ministers themselves before they go to sermon." Written on the last sheet of the MS. in a different hand is, "Howatt's Form of Prayer." Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. MS. (Wodrow MSS., vol. 20, quarto), Lib. No. ccc. 2-12. Dr Sprott has brought this literary curiosity to light, and has printed it as an Appendix to his valuable reprint, 'Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI.' Edinb.: 1871.

[110] "Among other directions sent from the king, one was for repairing of the Chappell, and some *English* carpenters employed, who brought with them the portraits of the *Apostles* to be set in the Pews or Stalls; as they were proceeding in their work, a foolish and idle rumour went, that Images were to be set up in the Chapell: and as people are given to speak the worst, it was current among them, that *the Organs came first, now the Images, and ere long they should have the Masse.*"—Spottiswoode's 'Hist. of the Ch. of Scot.,' an. 1616, lib. vii. p. 530 of folio ed. London: MDCLV. Upon the day following the royal entrance into the capital—*i.e.*, Sunday, 18th May—service was conducted in the Chapel Royal according to the ritual of the Church of England, "with singing of choristers, surplices, and playing on organs." On the 8th of June, being Whitsunday, Holy Communion was celebrated in the same place after the same order, those communicating doing so *kneeling*. Several of the

them upon the Assembly of the following year, which was summoned to convene at Perth. In this he succeeded; and so the King James articles of assimilation have taken their place in the records of history under the name of the Five Articles of Perth.

They range over the following particulars: (1) Kneeling in the act of communicating; (2) administering the Communion to sick persons in private; (3) baptising in private; (4) confirmation; (5) the observance of the four holy-days—Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, and Whitsunday.[111] When, according to the usage of the times, the Acts of Assembly came before the Privy Council, the Five Articles were all ratified, and so also was a finding which gave commission to certain persons to review the labours of the previously appointed commissioners in the matter of Common Order Book revision.[112] This revising was carried on partly in Scotland by the bishops there, and partly in England by James himself in consultation with Anglican dignitaries. Drafts of what was proposed having been sent across the Border and

nobility and clergy who were present but who scrupled to communicate, received a royal mandate requiring them to do so next Lord's Day.—Calderwood's 'Hist.,' 1617, vol. vii. p. 246, Wod. Soc. ed.

[111] The Five Articles are given in full in 'The B.U.K. of Scot.' (*ut sup.*, pp. 1165, 1166). Because of its bearing upon what is to be found in Period II. on the same subject, I give at length the first of the five relating to kneeling at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. "Seing we are commanded by God himself, that when wee come to worship him, we fall doun and kneel before the Lord our Maker; and considdering withall, that there is no part of divine worship more heavenly and spiritual, then is the holy receiving of the blessed body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; like as the most humble and reverend gesture of the body, in our meditation and lifting up of our hearts, best becometh so divine and sacred an action: Therefor, notwithstanding that our Kirk hath used, since the Reformation of Religion, to celebrate the holy Communion to the people sitting, by reason of the great abuse of kneeling used in the idolatrous worship of the Sacrament by the Papists: yet now seeing all memory of bypast superstition is past; in reverence of God, and in due regard of so divine a mystery, and in remembrance of so mystical an union as we are made partakers of, the Assembly thinketh good, that that blessed Sacrament be celebrat hereafter meekly and reverently upon their knees."

[112] Dr Sprott, 'Scot. Liturgies,' &c., *ut sup.*, Introduc., p. xxix.

returned, with "observations, additions, expunctions, mutations, accommodations,"[113] matters were so far advanced by June 1619 that a royal licence was then granted to an Edinburgh bookseller—Gilbert Dick by name—authorising him to print the book, and giving him exclusive right to do so for nineteen years to come.[114] So certain did it seem that in a short time the old Book of Common Order, with its optional forms, directions, and suggested material, would be superseded by a Book of Common Prayer with set forms and prescribed prayers, that Archbishop Spottiswoode, in the heat of altercation with Thomas Hog, minister at Dysart, charged with speaking disrespectfully of the Perth Articles, thought to silence the sturdy Presbyterian by assuring him that, although his prayers had up till now been in harmony with the usage of his Church, and according to the ritual of the Book of Common Order, in a short time the old order would be discharged, and ministers would be tied[115] to set forms,

[113] "This Booke [a publike forme of Liturgie, or Booke of Common Prayer] . . . being by those who were deputed for that purpose framed, was by the Lord Archbishop of Saint *Andrewes* that now liveth, sent up to Our Royall Father, who not onely carefully and punctually perused everie particular passage of it himselfe but had it also considerately advised with, and revised by some of that Kingdome here in England, in whose judgement He reposed singular trust and confidence; and after all His owne and their observations, additions, expunctions, mutations, accommodations, He sent it backe to those from whom He had received it, to be commended to that whole Church, being a Service Booke in substance, frame, and composure, much about one with this verie Service Booke which We of late commended to them [1637]."—'A Large Declaration,' &c. By the King. London: MDC.XXXIX. Pp. 16, 17. This work was written for Charles I. by Dr Balcanquhall, Dean of Durham. Baillie calls it "that unexampled manifesto, which, at Canterburie's direction, Balquanquall, and Rosse, and St Andrewes, had penned," and describes it as "heaping up a rabble of the falsest calumnies that ever was put into one discourse that I had read."—Baillie's 'Letters and Journals,' vol. i. p. 208.

[114] Dr Sprott's 'Scot. Liturg.,' *ut sup.*, Introd.. p. xxxiv.

[115] "Ye are not content, said the Bishop, to declaim in your Sermons against the Course and State of Bishops; but also ye pray ordinarily after Sermon against Bishops, as Belligods and Hirelings. He [Mr Thomas Hogg, minister at Dysart] answered that he prayed ordinarily against Belligods and Hirelings in the Ministry, by the warrant of God's Word, *and conform to the prayer published in the book of Discipline, for the use of the Kirk of Scot-*

and not permitted to conceive prayers just as it pleased them.

To complete the equipment of the Anglicised Church of Scotland, it was thought desirable that there should be a new Psalter. That also James, in the exercise of royal interest and forethought, had provided. Taking the matter into his own special charge, he had, in leisure hours, prepared metrical renderings of the psalms in the Scottish dialect.[116] After trying his skill in the case of thirty compositions,[117] the king availed himself of the co-operation of Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, afterwards Earl of Stirling, and author of tragedies now forgotten.[118] So largely did the

*land.* . . . Then said the Bishop, in great indignation, in short space, that book of Discipline (meaning the book of Common order before the Psalmes) shall be discharged, *and Ministers shall be tied to set Prayers, and shall not be suffered to conceive prayers, as they please.*"—Calderwood's 'History,' 1619, pp. 726, 727 of fol. ed.; vol. vii. p. 369 of Wod. Soc. ed.

[116] A volume of these metrical translations, in the king's handwriting, is in the British Museum Library. In addition to renderings of thirty psalms, not in consecutive order, there are paraphrases of the twelfth chapter of Ecclesiastes, of the Lord's Prayer, and of the Song of Moses.

[117] "Hee [James VI.] was in hand (when God call'd him to sing psalmes with the angels) with the translation of our Church psalmes, which hee intended to have finished and dedicated with all to the onely saint of his devotion, the Church of Great Britaine and that of Ireland. This worke was staied in the one and thirty psalme."—Dr Williams, "Great Britain's Salomon; a Sermon preached at the magnificent Funerall of the most high and mighty King James" (London, 1625), p. 42.

[118] "The revising of the Psalmes he [his Majesty] made his own labour, and at such hours as he might spare from the publick cares, went through a number of them, commending the rest to a faithfull and learned servant, who hath therein answered his Majesties expectation."—Spottiswoode's 'Hist. of the Ch. of Scot.,' an. 1601, p. 465; fol. ed., vol. iii. pp. 98, 99 of Spot. Soc. ed. In a letter to William Drummond of Hawthornden, dated April 18, 1620, Sir William Alexander wrote in these terms: "Brother, I received your last letter with the Psalm you sent, which I think very well done; I had done the same long before it came; but He prefers his own to all else; tho' perchance, when you see it, you will think it the worst of the three. No man must meddle with that subject, and therefore I advise you to take no more pains therein."—Drummond's 'Works' (Edinburgh, 1711), p. 151. On the 28th December 1627 there was granted licence for the space of 31 years, to print the Psalms of King David, translated by King James, in favour of Sir William Alexander, "to quhais cair his Majestie hath speciallie entrusted the

coadjutor assist in the undertaking that the version might fairly bear his name rather than that of his sovereign; but the courtesy of a courtier and the vanity of a king kept every name but one out of the title-page. It is doubtful, however, if James ever had the gratification, which in his case would have been intense, of seeing the work even in draft, and of reading on the title-page, "The Psalms of King David, translated by King James." [119] Certainly there never came to him the satisfaction of knowing that the Church of Scotland had accepted that Prayer-book in the preparation of which he took such interest, and that Psalter which he fondly hoped would be associated with his name for all time to come. For when he died in 1625 the Book of Common Prayer was still in draft, and the world was not favoured with a sight of the Psalter till six years after the death of the royal versifier.

The accession of Charles I. to the throne of Great Britain brought no relief to the people of Scotland from State meddling and dictation in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical. A petition from ministers opposed to the Perth Articles gave the newly crowned king an opportunity of making it known that it was his determination to have the ordinances, instructions, and injunctions of his father strictly enforced in all matters of government and worship.

said work in collecting and reviewing of the same and in seeing the first impressioun thairof to be carefullie and weill done and withall being gratiouslie pleased that he sould reape the benefite of his travellis thairin." The licence is given in full by Principal Lee in his 'Memorial for the Bible Societies in Scotland,' Edin., 1824; Appendix No. xxi. pp. 36-38. For further information regarding Sir William Alexander and his psalter renderings see John Holland's 'Psalmists of Britain' (London, 1843), vol. i. pp. 259-267; also Dr D. Laing's 'Notes regarding the Metrical Versions of the Psalms received by the Church of Scotland.'—Baillie's 'Letters and Journals,' vol. iii. p. 530.

[119] 'The Psalmes of King David, translated by King James. Cum Privilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.' On another engraved leaf are the royal arms and the king's authority allowing the psalms "to be sung in all the Churches of oure Dominions." Imprint: "Oxford, Printed by William Turner, Printer to the famous University, M.DC.XXXI."

Of all the articles recently forced upon ministers and people the most offensive was the first, according to which the Assembly was represented as thinking it good that the sacrament of Holy Communion "be celebrated hereafter meekly and reverently *upon their knees.*" The opposition to the enforcement of this requirement was not grounded upon dislike of kneeling as a posture in worship; neither did it spring from unwillingness to yield to an innovation implied in the posture. For, as far as appears, kneeling in public worship had been practised in Scotland among Presbyterians from the time of the Reformation. Thus in the Order of Excommunication and of Public Repentance published in 1569, before uttering "the invocation of the name of Jesus Christ to excommunicate the impenitent," the minister briefly addresses the congregation, concluding with these words: "And that we may do the same, not out of our own authority, but in the name and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, before whom all knees are compelled to bow, let us *humbly fall down before him*, and on this manner pray."[120] Then in 1587 the Glasgow Session ordained that all persons in time of prayer "bow their knees to the ground";[121] and Lindsay, in his vindication of the Perth Assembly, states, "We were accustomed, and still are, to kneel at the thanksgiving."[122]

The opposition to the "gesture of kneeling" when communicating was that which John Knox urged so vehemently in his day, and which led to the insertion of the "black rubric" into the English Prayer-book of 1552,—opposition, viz., to the adoration of the Host believed to be implied, if not intended, in that posture. Kneeling at Communion was worshipping and bowing down in the house of Rimmon, an act of

[120] Knox's 'Works,' vol. vi. p. 466.

[121] "Anent Prayers. 1587, Sept. 21—That all persons in time of prayer bow their knee to the ground."—Wodrow's 'Collections on the Life of Mr David Weems,' Maitland Club, p. 22.

[122] Lindsay's 'True Narrative of Perth Assembly,' p. 47; also his 'Resolutions for Kneeling,' pp. 34, 65. Dr Sprott in 'Introd. to Scot. Liturg.,' p. xxx.

constructive idolatry to be reprobated and abhorred by all sound Protestant Presbyterians.

And so, when on Easter Sunday of 1627 the Communion was dispensed in the churches of Edinburgh to as many as would receive the elements kneeling, instead of communicants coming forward in thousands, not more than six or seven persons presented themselves in the Church of St Giles, and some of the ministers refused to conform.[123] During an entire year the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not observed in the city churches; and when in February 1629 there was a celebration, the result was a scene of scandalous disorder characterised by the historian of the times as "pitiful to behold; some of the ministers kneeling, some sitting, some standing; similar confusion among the people; the minister giving the elements out of his hands to each one, and the reader reading, or the people singing at that same time." [124]

By this time Charles, and those courtiers and ecclesiastics who were in his confidence, were fully committed to that policy of disregard of constitutional restraints and disdain of half measures which passed among themselves as the policy of THOROUGH, and which was applied with perfect impartiality, though with very different results, to England, Ireland, and Scotland. Applying it to the ecclesiastical affairs of the last-named country, those intrusted with carrying out the thorough treatment of the Church prepared for the Scots two ecclesiastical directories intended to be coincident in date of appearance; but, as matters turned out, they were separate from each other by a considerable interval of time.

The first in order of time appeared when, in the beginning of 1636, there issued from the press of Edward Raban, printer in Aberdeen, a publication bearing the royal coat of arms,

[123] Rowe's 'History,' A.D. 1627, p. 343 of Wod. Soc. ed.

[124] Ibid., A.D. 1629, p. 348.

and described on title-page as "Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical; gathered and put in form for the government of the Church of Scotland. Ratified and Approved by His Majesty's Royal Warrant, and ordained to be observed by the Clergy, and all others whom they concern." [125]

Of the Canons, contained under nineteen heads or chapters, some took to do with public worship and the administration of sacraments, and that in a very thorough manner. Thus, according to two canons, no presbyter or reader was thenceforth to pray in public *ex tempore;* but all preachers were to exhort their hearers to join with them in prayer, using some convenient expressions, and always concluding with the Lord's Prayer.[126] Another canon, while condemning the adoration of the bread, required "that the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper be received with the bowing of the knee, to testify the devotion and thankfulness of the receivers for that most excellent gift." It was enjoined by yet another royal mandate that in time of divine service "no man shall cover his head," but all persons present shall reverently kneel when the Confession and other prayers are read, and shall stand up at the saying of the Creed. In several of the chapters explicit reference is made to a Service-book in course of preparation. Thus it was set down as one of the duties of a presbyter that he either personally, or by a qualified representative, read or cause to be read divine service "according to the Form of the Book of Common Prayer."

[125] Upon the authority of Wharton, Professor Masson states that the title in the original draft was, "Canons agreed on to be proposed to the several Synods of the Kirk of Scotland," and that the alteration was made by Laud. —'Life of Milton and Hist. of his Time,' vol. i. p. 717.

[126] "They [the Scottish Presbyterians] disliked the sixteenth, pretending themselves bound to the form of bidding prayer, prescribed in the 55th Canon of the Church of England, which was, in effect, they said, to subject them to the discipline of a foreign Church."—A. Stevenson's 'Hist. of the Ch. and State of Scot.,' book i. chap. ii. p. 161 of one-vol. ed. Edinburgh: 1840. For information regarding Bidding Prayers, with illustrative specimens, see Appendix L of this work.

Still more explicitly, it was ordained, for the manifestation of unity in faith through uniformity in worship, "that in all meetings for Divine Worship, before Sermon, the whole Prayers *according to the Liturgy* be deliberately and distinctly read;" while in his visitation of the sick the presbyter was enjoined to instruct and comfort them "according to the Book of Common Prayer."

For the silencing of all fault-finders, it was decreed and ordained that whosoever affirmed the form of worship contained in the book now established under his Majesty's authority to contain anything repugnant to the Scriptures, to be corrupt, superstitious, or unlawful, should be excommunicated, and not restored till after his repentance, and a public revocation of such wicked errors. For the punishing of nonconforming presbyters, it was likewise decreed and ordained that any such, as also any reader, guilty of using any other form in the public service than the one now prescribed, be visited with deprivation of licence or of cure." [127]

[127] Even Clarendon admits "it was a fatal inadvertency, that neither before nor after these canons were sent to the king they were never seen by the Assembly, or any convocation of the clergy, which was so strictly obliged to the observation of them; nor so much as communicated to the Lords of the Council of that kingdom." The same historian considers it "strange that those canons should be published before the liturgy was prepared, when three or four of the canons were principally for the observation and punctual compliance with the liturgy; which all the clergy were to be sworn to submit to, and to pay all obedience to what was enjoined by it, before they knew what it contained."—'The Hist. of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England,' Bk. ii. pp. 45, 46: Oxford, one-vol. ed., 1839. "In this [the authority whence they came forth] it may safely be said that they stand alone among the State papers of Christian Europe. Whoever may have given personal help in their preparation, they were adopted by the king, and were as much his sole personal act as if he had penned them all alone in his cabinet, and sent them as a despatch to those who were to obey their injunctions. . . . A complete code of laws for the government of a Church, issued by a sovereign, without official consultation with the responsible representatives of that Church, is unexampled in European history."—Dr J. H. Burton, 'The Hist. of Scot.,' chap. lxviii., "Charles I.," vol. vi. pp. 109, 110 (sec. ed., 1874). When the above admissions of Royalist and Episcopalian historians are kept in view, the reader

The other measure which brought matters to a crisis was the issuing of a Service-book, intended to have been published along with the Canons, although it was fifteen months later of making its appearance. The delay was probably due to the number of persons concerned in its preparation. When the compiling of a Prayer-book for the Church of Scotland was again taken in hand, it was felt it would not be possible to ignore the recently elevated Scottish prelates. To those of their number taken into confidence at Whitehall and Lambeth, the proposal was first made that, in the interests of uniformity, the new ritual should be the Book of Common Prayer used across the Border.[128] The proposal, however, failing to approve itself to the northern prelates, who judged that it would be exceedingly distasteful to the bulk of the nation, they were called upon to draw up a scheme of what they deemed might be accepted, and submit it for the consideration of King Charles and those whom he might associate with him in the work of final revision. The men in Scotland intrusted with the work of drafting were the wary Primate Spottiswoode,[129] Maxwell, Bishop of Ross,[130] and

will appreciate the statement of Professor Masson, that in Scotland the book "was received with a kind of dumb amazement."—'Life of Milton,' *ut sup.*, vol. i. p. 716.

[128] "I [Laud] told him [Maxwel, Bishop of Ross] I was clear of opinion that if his Majesty would have a Liturgy settled there, it were best to take the English Liturgy without any variation, that so the same Service-book might be established in all his Majesty's Dominions. . . . He [his Majesty] inclined to my Opinion, to have the English Service without any alteration to be established there. And in this Condition I held that Business, for 2 if not 3 years at least."—'The Hist. of the Troubles and Tryal of The Most Reverend Father in God and Blessed Martyr, William Laud, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.' Wrote by Himself during his Imprisonment in the Tower (London, MDCXCV.), pp. 168, 169.

[129] "A prudent and mild man, but of no great decency in his course of life."—Burnet, 'Hist. of His Own Time,' bk. i. "A Summary," &c., p. 14, one-vol. ed. London: Chatto & Windus, 1875.

[130] "Now among these late bishops whom king Charles preferred, none were generally esteemed gifted for the office, except bishop Maxwell, of whom it cannot be denied but he was a man of great parts; but the mischief was, they were accompanied with unbounded ambition."—'The Memoirs of

Wedderburn, Bishop of Dunblane, whom Laud afterwards affected to depreciate as "a mere scholar and a bookman," but who was known to be in sympathy with the Arminian and High Church leanings of the English prelate.

In England the proposals were carefully examined by the king; but for final revision they were passed on to three Church of England dignitaries—Archbishop Laud, Dr Juxon, Bishop of London, and Dr Wren of Norwich.

After this process of drafting, revising, and recasting had gone on for some time,[131] the book assumed completed form when Laud and Wren wrote in a copy of the English Book of Common Prayer such modifications as had been suggested in Scotland and had secured royal approval, and also the additions which English revisionists had resolved upon. This book was sent to Scotland for the guidance of the compilers there, with a plain intimation that the liberty seemingly granted to alter some things was one *not* to be exercised, his Majesty's will being that there should be little or no alteration.[132] Whatever contributions may have been made by others to the offices of worship as finally adjusted, no one now seems to doubt that the really responsible editor was "the little, low, red-faced man," William Laud, that evil genius of his sovereign "of the narrow forehead and melancholy vandyke air."[133] In this case there is as much of appropriateness in conjoining the name of Laud with the book as there is of inaccuracy in associating the name of Knox with the term liturgy. What is popularly known as, "Laud's Liturgy," is justly so called. As in the compiling, so also in

Henry Guthry, late Bishop of Dunkeld,' sec. ed. (Glasgow, MDCCXLVII.), pp. 16, 17.

[131] Dr Sprott regards what issued from the press in April 1637 as the fourth or fifth draft.—'Scot. Liturg.,' *ut sup.*, Introd., p. lxiv.

[132] Ibid., Introd., pp. lix, lx.

[133] "The alterations proposed were forwarded to Scotland for the approval of the Scottish bishops; but the brain which had conceived them was that of the restless Archbishop of Canterbury."—S. R. Gardiner, 'Hist. of England from the Accession of James VI.,' vol. viii. chap. lxxx. p. 309.

the bringing out, of the new book of forms, there was considerable delay.

Copies of the work issued from the Edinburgh press of Robert Young in April 1637, the intention being that it should be in use by Easter of that year. And individual cases of its employment in two or three provincial towns and in college chapels may be met with; but Easter came and passed without the new Prayer-book having been used in the capital. By midsummer, however, the Privy Council took action in the matter, bringing such pressure to bear upon the hesitating or dilatory bishops that it was determined by the ecclesiastical authorities to begin the use of the liturgy upon Sunday, the 23d of July, intimation to that effect to be made on the 16th in all the city churches. The way in which this order was dealt with by the Edinburgh ministers was ominous of trouble. "Some of them," says the historian Row, "refused to read it at all; some did cast it down to the Reader to read it; and some did read it, yet in such a way that any might perceive he cared not whether that edict was obeyed or not." [134]

What took place on the eventful 23d of July 1637 in the churches of St Giles and Greyfriars is familiar to every schoolboy in Scotland, and need not be here narrated. If any one wishes to freshen his acquaintance with the somewhat hackneyed story, he has only to read the narrative of the Edinburgh tumults of that year, as told by the town-clerk of Aberdeen,[135] by the parson of Rothiemay,[136] or by the minister of Carnock;[137] and one of the most dramatic episodes of Scottish Church History will appear all aglow with national enthusiasm and tumultuous with popular excitement.

The official condemnation of the obtruded Service-book

[134] 'Historie,' 1637, p. 408, Wod. Soc. ed.

[135] John Spalding's 'Memorialls of the Troubles in Scot. and Eng.,' A.D. 1624-1645, Spalding Club, pp. 79, 80.

[136] James Gordon's 'Hist. of Scots Affairs,' Spalding Club, vol. i.

[137] John Rowe's 'Hist. of the Kirk of Scot.,' pp. 408, 409, Wod. Soc. ed.

will fall to be stated under the subsequent period which opens with the General Assembly of 1638. Just now it will be enough to direct attention to a remarkable proclamation and an equally remarkable preface with which the contents of the volume were brought before the people of Scotland. The title-page prepared them to find in what followed, "The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments; and other Parts of Divine Service for the Use of the Church of Scotland." After a table of contents came "A Proclamation for the authorizing of the Book of Common Prayer to be used throughout the Realm of Scotland." This edict purported to emanate from "Charles, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith," and was addressed to various civil functionaries enjoining them straitly and immediately to "command and charge all our subjects, both ecclesiastical and civil, to conform themselves to the public Form of Worship, which is the only Form which We (having taken the Counsel of Our Clergy) think fit to be used in God's public Worship in this Our Kingdom." Then, "all Archbishops, and Bishops, and other Presbyters and Church-men," were commanded "to take a special Care that the same be duly obeyed and observed, and the Contraveeners condignly censured and punished; and to have special Care that every Parish betwixt and Pasch [138] next procure unto themselves two at least of the said Books of Common Prayer for the use of the Parish." [139]

[138] "Betwixt and Pasch next." The elliptical phrase might well puzzle such an English editor as the Rev. Peter Hall ('Reliquiæ Liturgicæ,' vol. ii. p. 6), who imagines a word to be omitted—"Between this and Easter next." But the wording is in correct Scottish legal style. The phrase occurs in one of Baillie's letters: "So I did what I could, with so manie of the Commission I got *betuixt and ten*."—'Letters and Journals,' vol. ii. p. 97.

[139] Dr J. H. Burton characterises the proclamation as "a very offensive secular document printed at the beginning of the book, to flare in the face, as it were, of those for whom it was destined. . . . Surely it may be safely said that the history of Christianity cannot show another instance of a book of

The proclamation of authorisation is followed by a preface of explanation. In the opening paragraph it is affirmed that "the Church of Christ hath in all ages had a prescript Form of Common Prayer, or Divine Service, as appeareth by the ancient Liturgies of the Greek and Latin Churches." This, it is claimed, is in the interests of uniformity in public worship, an object so desirable and seemly that "it were to be wished that the whole Church of Christ were one as well in Form of publick Worship, as in Doctrine: And that, as it hath but one Lord and one Faith, so it had but one Heart and one Mouth." Such a uniformity may not be attainable "in the whole Catholic Christian Church," but ought surely to be matter of endeavour "in the Churches that are under the Protection of one Sovereign Prince." Reference is then made to the pains taken in this matter by "King James of blessed memory," and to the resolve of the reigning sovereign not to suffer his father's purpose to fall to the ground. Of this evidence was given "soon after his coming to the Crown," when he "gave order for the framing of a Book of Common Prayer like unto that which is received in the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, for the Use of this Church." Exception is then supposed to be taken to "this good and most pious Work," on the ground that the framers of it have followed the Service-book of England. Any disposed to sympathise with that objection are asked "to consider that, being, as we are, by God's Mercy, of one true Profession, and otherways united by many Bonds," it would not have "been fitting to vary much from theirs, ours especially coming forth after theirs." It was therefore deemed "meet to adhere to their Form, even in the Festivals, and some other Rites, not as yet received nor observed in our Church, rather than by omitting them, to give the Adversary to think that we disliked any part of their Service."

devotion announced in such a fashion to its devotees."—'The Hist. of Scot.,' vol. vi. chap. lxviii. pp. 144, 145, sec. ed.

In a remarkable closing paragraph the framers of the Scottish Prayer-book endeavour to strengthen their position by adducing the opinion and the practice of those whom they style "our first Reformers." This is done by a reference to the ordinance passed at a meeting of nobles and barons in 1557. On that occasion, it is stated "the first Head concluded" by those "professing Christ Jesus" was to the effect "that in all the Parishes of this Realm the Common Prayer should be read Weekly on *Sundays* and other Festival Days, with the Lessons of the Old and New Testament, conform to the Order of the Book of Common Prayer (meaning that of *England*); for it is known that divers Years after we had no other Order for Common Order." Then follows the statement, "We keep the Words of the History" divided from which by a semicolon, and printed in italics, are the additional words: "*Religion was not then placed in Rites and Gestures, nor Men taken with the Fancy of extemporary Prayers.*" But at the close of the first limb of the sentence affirming adherence to the *ipsissima verba* of the record is an asterisk directing to an authority on the margin of the page, that authority being thus given: "The History of the Church of Scotland, p. 218."

It may surprise some to learn that the History thus referred to is no other than 'The History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland,' by John Knox. Of that famous work an attempt was made to print an edition in England by Vaultrollier in 1586 or the year following; but after a limited number of copies had been thrown off, further progress was arrested by the ecclesiastical authorities, and what had been printed was seized in order to be destroyed.

This imperfect and suppressed edition, in small octavo, had for title, 'The Historie of the Church of Scotland'; and on page 218 of the volume a statement substantially the same as that now quoted is to be found.[140] Needless to state that John

[140] I have been able to trace and verify the above reference through the

Knox is *not* responsible for the words that follow the asterisk and semicolon, although that impression might quite well be created in the mind of a cursory reader. He is no more responsible for affirming that at the Reformation religion was not made to consist in rites or postures, nor were men carried away with a "fancy of extemporary prayers," than he is chargeable with advancing the averment with which this remarkable preface closes, to wit, "Sure, the public Worship of God in His Church, being the most solemn Action of us His poor Creatures here below, ought to be performed by a Liturgy advisedly set and framed, and not according to the sudden and various Fancies of Men."

Any one who examines the matter with care will find that the extent to which the ascendancy of Episcopacy in Scotland during the reigns of James VI. and Charles I. affected the public worship of the country was very limited. When divine service was rendered in the presence of earthly royalty, care was taken that it should be after the English pattern. It was so when James visited his native country in 1617, and again in 1633, when Charles paid his coronation visit, having Laud for his chaplain and master of ceremonies.

And services of a similar kind were no doubt conducted elsewhere than in Edinburgh—in, for example, Aberdeen and St Andrews, where it would be safe to venture upon them. But cases of this kind were only occasional and exceptional. In the great majority of parish churches, both in town and country, public worship was conducted on the lines laid down in that Order which was used at Geneva, approved and received by the Church of Scotland, and "imprinted" at Edinburgh in 1565.

courteous co-operation of Mr J. S. Gibb, Edinburgh. Among his many other literary treasures, that gentleman possesses a copy of the earliest printed edition of Knox's 'History,' of which he has kindly granted me the use. Further information regarding this and other editions of the History will be found in 'Life of Knox,' Notes TTT, UUU; also in 'Works,' vol. i., Introd. Notice, pp. xxxii-xxxix.

In confirmation of this statement we may point to the fact that 1635, the very year in which Charles I. issued letters patent authorising the Canons which prohibited the use of any other ritual than that which English and Scottish bishops were busy framing, was the year in which there was published at Edinburgh the edition of the Scottish Presbyterian metrical Psalter regarded by competent authorities as the most complete of its kind, and as such selected for reproduction in a modern verbatim reprint which reflects the greatest credit alike upon generous promoter, learned editor, and painstaking lithographers.[141] In this edition of 1635, the only one in which the tunes are harmonised, there are three "conclusions" or doxologies printed by themselves and placed at the opening of the metrical portion of the volume, and fourteen Spiritual Songs brought in at "the end of the Psalms of David in Prose and Metre," and with instructions at the beginning of each as to the number of the psalm to the tune of which it is to be sung. Some of these metrical pieces may fairly enough be styled paraphrases of Scripture passages, as, for example, "The Ten Commandments," "The Lord's Prayer," "The Song of Simeon," "The Song of the Blessed Virgin Mary," and "The Song of Moses." Others, again, can only with any measure of correctness be designated hymns, for among the collection are the "Veni Creator," "The XII Articles of the Christian Belief," "The Humble Suit," "Lamentation," and "Complaint of a Sinner," and what is termed "a Spiritual Song," having for opening lines—

> "What greater wealth than a contented mind?
> What poverty so great as want of grace?"

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[141] "The Scottish Metrical Psalter of A.D. 1635, reprinted in full from the original work. The Additional Matter and Various Readings found in the editions of 1565, &c., being appended, and the whole illustrated by Dissertations, Notes, and Fac Similes. Edited by the Rev. Neil Livingston [D.D.] Printed from stone, by Maclure & Macdonald, Lithographers to the Queen. Glasgow: 1864."

That the uniformity of Presbyterian worship was not materially affected by the obtruding upon the country of a popularly disliked Episcopacy can be made good in another way,—one which will give us greater breadth of view, while it will furnish us with the testimony of widely differing and quite independent witnesses.

We propose, then, to extract from the writings of a Scottish Episcopalian, an English traveller, and a Scottish Presbyterian divine, descriptions of the ritual practised in Scotland at times in the period reviewed, when kingcraft and prelatic abetting of it were specially active in the interests of Episcopalian government and worship.

Our first description is one relating to divine service in the reign of King James, and comes from the pen of William Cowper, who commenced his public life as a Presbyterian minister, but became Bishop of Galloway in 1612, having got "new light"[142] which caused him to change sides and brought to him promotion. This estimable man and evangelical writer published a controversial treatise in 1623. It takes the form of a series of conferences or dialogues between a "Catholic Christian" and a "Catholic Roman," as the author styles them; and one of the imaginary conferences is held on a Sabbath, upon which day, at the suggestion of the Catholic Christian, they attend divine service in a Protestant place of worship. This is what they are reported by the Scottish bishop to have seen and heard. The congregation bow reverently while the Reader makes humble confession and supplication in their name; they then open their psalm-books in order to join in praise, the Reader having given out a particular psalm for all to sing, after which he opens the Bible and reads a portion of Scripture. These exercises of prayer, praise, and reading occupy an hour, all

[142] For favourable estimate of the writings and racy anecdote regarding the "new light" of William Cowper see M'Crie's 'Life of Melville,' chaps. ix., xii.

being engaged in with the utmost quietness and devoutness, everything uttered, it is observed by the Romanist, being spoken in the vernacular of the country. The ringing of a bell[143] brings this part of the service to a close, and the minister enters the pulpit. He commences with a conceived or unwritten prayer, during which the worshippers reverently humble themselves. He thereafter reads his text and proceeds with his sermon, the majority of his male hearers having their heads uncovered, those whom considerations of health might influence being at liberty to remain covered. The sermon finished, the minister engages in thanksgiving; a psalm is sung by the congregation; the minister pronounces the blessing in the name of the Lord, "and so demits them."

When the two friends have left the building the Roman Catholic expresses himself highly pleased with what he terms a "most comely and comfortable order," thanking God for "the best Sabbath-day that ever he saw."[144]

The second writer of whose testimony we avail ourselves is an English traveller. Sir William Brereton of Cheshire belonged to the Puritan party in England, and acquired some distinction as an officer in the Parliamentary army. He visited Scotland and other countries in 1634 and 1635; and his account of his travels was published by the Chatham Society in 1844.

[143] "The third bell." The first bell was rung at an early hour to prepare the people for setting out; the second at the commencement of the Reader's service; and the third to mark the beginning of that of the minister. Thus the Glasgow Session made the following arrangement on the 29th July 1592: "the first bell at half nyne [8.30 A.M.], the 2d at nyne, and the 3d at half ten [9.30 A.M.];" and on Jan. 23, 1597, "that at the 3d Bell the two Bells in the Laigh Steeple shall both be rung together;" and in March 1652, "That an Elder attend in every kirk between the ringing of the first and 2d Bells, to see decency and order keeped in people taking their seats."—'Collections on the Life of Mr David Weems,' Maitland Club, pp. 17, 18.

[144] 'The Workes of Mr Willia Cowper, late Bishop of Galloway.' London: 1626.

This is Brereton's description of public worship in Scotland when Charles I. was on the throne, and was doing his utmost to Anglicise the polity of Presbyterian Scotland:—

"Upon the Lord's day they do assemble betwixt eight and nine in the morning, and spend the time in singing psalms and reading chapters in the Old Testament, until about ten o'clock; then the preacher comes into the pulpit, and the psalm being ended, he reads a printed and prescribed prayer, which is an excellent prayer; this being ended, another psalm is sung, and then he prays before sermon, and concludes his sermon betwixt eleven and twelve o'clock; and during the intermission, many continue in the church until the afternoon exercise, which begins soon after one, is performed in the same manner as in the morning, save the chapters then read are out of the New Testament; and they conclude about four o'clock."

Sir William also describes the administration of the sacraments. In the case of baptism he represents the preacher as standing in the pulpit, to which is fastened "a frame of iron shaped and proportioned to a basin, wherein there stands a silver basin and ewer."

"The minister useth an exhortation of gratitude for God's great goodness in admitting them to this privilege, &c., and demanding from the witnesses (who are many, sometimes twelve, sometimes twenty) according to a printed form of Baptism; the parent receives the child from the midwife, presents the same unto the preacher, who doth baptize it without any manner of ceremony, giving a strict care of Christian and religious education, first unto the parent, then to the witnesses."

According to the English tourist of the seventeenth century, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is administered after this manner: A narrow table is placed in the middle aisle, the whole length of it, round about which the most of the communicants sit, as in the Dutch and French churches, although Brereton found conformity to English Church ceremonies being much pressed, especially in the case of the "gesture of kneeling." Of the strain that existed in

the country generally because of the endeavour to introduce the "nocent ceremonies" from England, Sir William Brereton had evidence when he visited Ayr. On inquiring of his landlady there regarding the town minister, he found her ready with complaints against him because of the zeal with which he was pressing conformity, particularly in the matter of kneeling. She further informed him that upon Easter-day so soon as the minister went to the communion-table the people left in a body, no one remaining but the conforming pastor.[145]

Our remaining testimony is that of one who played an important part in the stirring events that led up to the Second Reformation, one to whom Presbyterian Scotland owes a debt of gratitude only second to that due to John Knox. Our reference is to Alexander Henderson.

In 1641 there was printed at Edinburgh a small treatise upon "The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland." Republished in London "by authority" [?] in 1644 with some omissions and alterations, a third edition was issued at Edinburgh in 1690. In his "Advertisement" to the latest issue, the publisher, George Mosman by name, professes that he "cannot certainly learn who was the author," but thinks he must have been a stranger. It is further stated that where anything appeared to be either omitted, erroneously stated, or different from present practice, care has been taken to mark and supply such by means of brief marginal notes "by a good hand."

Although published anonymously, and written as if coming from the pen of an English Puritan, this masterly treatise is now, by general consent, associated with the name of Henderson.[146]

[145] 'Early Travellers in Scotland. 1295 to 1689.' Edited by P. Hume Brown, author of 'The Life of George Buchanan.' Edin.: 1891. Pp. 132-158.

[146] In a letter of the historian Wodrow, dated Jan. 11, 1723, he sends his correspondent "a List of what of Mr H.'s I have in print and manuscript." Second in his enumeration of printed works is 'Government and

In his prefatory remarks "to the Reader," the writer confesses he had been made to believe two things which he afterwards found to be not in accordance with the facts of the case. The first erroneous impression was "that the true Government of" the Church of Scotland "was Episcopal, and that beside the order of Episcopacy, there was nothing in that Church but disorder and confusion, through the Parity of their Ministers;" and the second was "that they had no certain rule or direction for their public worship, but that every man following his extemporary fansie, did preach and pray what seemed good in his own eyes." A sufficient proof of the inaccuracy of this last statement the author finds in "the form of Prayers, administration of the Sacraments, admission of Ministers, Excommunication, solemnizing of Marriage, visiting of the sick, &c., which are set down before their *Psalm* Book, and to which the Ministers are to conform themselves." "For although," he goes on to remark, "they be not tied to set forms and words, yet are they not left at randome, but for testifying their consent and keeping unity, they have their directory and prescribed order. Nowhere

order of ye Church of Scotland, 4to, Lond., 1641.' 'Sermons, Prayers, and Pulpit Addresses, by Alexander Henderson, 1638.' Edited from the original MS. by the Rev. R. Thomson Martin, Wishaw. Edin.: 1867. 'Memorial about Mr Alexander Henderson,' p. xxxiii. As late as 1864 the authorship of the treatise was supposed by some to be unknown, and the author regarded as an English Puritan. So in "Report of Committee anent Innovations in Public Worship appointed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland" in 1863. But, writing in May 1868, Dr Sprott calls it 'Henderson's Government and Order of the Church of Scotland,' and in a footnote states that "though anonymous, and written as if by an Englishman, there can be no doubt that Henderson was the author. Baillie speaks of Henderson writing such a work at the time. . . . In a pamphlet of 1659 it is referred to as Henderson's."—Reprint of 'Book of Common Order,' Introd., p. xxx, n. Dr J. H. Burton accepts Dr Sprott's view which he gives, and adds regarding the little book: "It is an extremely clear exposition; and as the best account of the government and worship of the Church of Scotland at this critical juncture, one is surprised that it has not been reprinted in later times, and remains a rarity little known."—'The Hist. of Scot.,' chap. lxviii., "Charles I.," p. 124 (n.), 2d ed. The copy in my possession is one of the 1690 edition.

hath preaching and the Ministery more spiritual and less carnal liberty, the Presbytery and Assemblies encouraging to the one and restraining from the other."

The treatise itself is divided into two parts, the first treating "Of the Officers of the Church," and the second "Of the Assemblies of the Church."

Section third of part first treats of the duties of the pastor under the following particulars: 1. The Order kept in Preaching. 2. The Order of Baptism. 3. The Order of administering the Communion. 4. The Order of public Fasting, &c. 5. The Order of Marriage. 6. The Order of Burial of the Dead. Any one who compares these "Orders" with what is contained under the same or similar headings in the Book of Common Order, and thereafter with the contents of the Westminster Directory, will have all trouble repaid by the results of the comparison. For the present, however, we confine ourselves to the first of the orders enumerated—that "kept in preaching."

Starting with the general statements that "the Pastor is bound to teach the Word of God in season and out of season," and that, in addition to occasional and week-day sermons, "which in Cities and Towns use to be at least two dayes every week," the writer states there is a gathering of the congregation twice on the Lord's Day. What takes place at such gatherings is thus described:—

"Notice is given of the time by the sound of a Bell. When so many of all sorts, Men and Women, Masters and Servants, Young and Old, as shall meet together, are assembled; the public Worship beginneth with Prayer, and reading some portion of holy Scripture both of the Old and New Testament, which the people hear with attention and reverence; and, after reading the whole Congregation joineth in singing some *Psalm*. This reading and singing do continue till the Preaching begin. At which time the Minister having prefaced a little for quickening and lifting up the hearts of the people, first maketh a Prayer for remission of sin, Sanctification,

and all things needful, joyning also Confession of sins and Thanksgiving, with special relation to the Hearers. After which is another *Psalm*, and after the *Psalm* a Prayer for a Blessing upon the preaching of the Word."

After a passing reference to the text—"*ordinarily*[147] some part of" a "Book of Canonical Scripture"—and to the sermon, the description is continued in these terms:—

"After Sermon he praiseth God, and prayeth again for a Blessing, joyning earnest petitions for the Church Universal, and for the coming of the Kingdom of Christ, for all the afflicted Churches, for the Churches in His Majesties Dominions, for the Church of *Scotland*, Ministry and People, for the King, the Queen, the Prince, and their whole Royal Progeny, for all the Members of that particular Congregation, as well absent in their lawful Affairs as present, for all that are afflicted among them in Body, Mind or Means. The prayer ended, a *Psalm* is sung, and the people dismissed with a Blessing."

The other Lord's Day service is thus briefly described:—

"In the afternoon either the same Order, in all things almost, is followed in performing the parts of public Worship, or some part of the Catechism is expounded; and thereafter so much time as may be spared is bestowed in Catechising some part of the parish, warned particularly to attend."[148]

If these descriptions of Cowper, Brereton, and Henderson have any historical value, it will be found to consist in the confirmation they yield to two conclusions a study of the period now surveyed cannot fail to leave with any unprejudiced, unbiassed judgment. The first of these is, that all

[147] The italics are Henderson's.

[148] To the above description of his author the "good hand" in the edition of 1690 makes the following marginal addition: "This Form is a little altered in a few Circumstances; for now the Reading of Scripture is performed by the Minister, who both Reads and Interprets in that part of the Worship we call the Lecture: and this Lecture requiring more time, the custom of Prefacing is not so much in use."

through the eighty years that form the period, extending from 1557 to 1637, the essentials of Presbyterian worship existed in Scotland, and dominated public divine service in spite of royal Articles, Canons, and Liturgies, by means of which it was endeavoured to break the uniformity.

The other conclusion can best be stated in the forcible language of the divine whose testimony was the last to be adduced. "Episcopacy," writes Henderson in the Treatise just quoted, "was never the Face nor order of that Church. In the most part of their Assemblies have they conflicted with it, and by the strength of God obtaining the victory both of old, and much more of late, They may well number it among their spoiles."

# PERIOD IV.

## THE WESTMINSTER DIRECTORY.

WITH the Assembly of 1638, "indicted by the King's Majestie, and conveened at Glasgow, the xxi. of November," the Church of Scotland entered upon the era of the Second Reformation. By that memorable gathering of Scottish Presbyterians, lay and clerical, very thorough measures were taken with a view to the removal of all that was Episcopal, and a return to what was Presbyterian in government and worship. Six "late pretended Assemblies" were condemned and declared "never to have had, nor hereafter to have, any ecclesiastical authority," every one of them having been "from the beginning unfree, unlawful, and null Assemblies." [1]

One of the six was that held at Perth, which in 1618 passed the five articles "in respect of his Majestie's commandment." These royal articles were made the subject of special and individual condemnation, being held to be confuted by the Word of God, and contrary to the confession and practice of the Church of Scotland.

A similar course was taken in respect of the Book of Canons and Laud's Book of Common Prayer. The former

[1] These were,—two held at Linlithgow, 1606, 1608; one at Glasgow, 1610; one at Aberdeen, 1616; one at St Andrews, 1617; and one at Perth, 1618.

was found to have been devised "without warrant or direction from the General Assembly," in order "to establish a tyrannical power in the persons of the pretended bishops over the worship of God, men's consciences, liberties, and goods;" while the Service-book, "lately obtruded upon the reformed Kirk within this realme," having been diligently considered "both in respect of the manner of the introduction thereof, and in respect of the matter which it containeth," was declared to have been "devised and brought in by the pretended prelats without direction from the Kirk, and pressed upon ministers without warrand from the Kirk, to be universally received as the only forme of divine service, under all highest paines, both civill and ecclesiasticall; and the book itself, beside the popish frame and forms in divine worship, to containe many popish errours and ceremonies, and the seeds of manifold and grosse superstition and idolatrie." [2]

The condemnatory action of the reforming Assembly was extended to those ecclesiastics who had received "consecration to the office of Episcopacy." The two archbishops and twelve bishops were tried, and several of them were sentenced to be deposed and excommunicated. Among the charges brought forward in the indictment of each prelate this offence had a place of prominence—"pressing the Kirk with novations in the worship of God." [3] When the sentence of deposition came to be formally pronounced by the Moderator, Alexander Henderson, it was done in the High Kirk of Glasgow, after a sermon from Psalm cx. 1. An abstract of the proof against the bishops having been read by the Clerk, the Moderator, before uttering "this terrible sentence, the like whereof has not been heard in a land, because we never have heard of such matters in our Kirk," made a brief statement of the main charges in the indictment, among which he

[2] 'Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland,' 1638. Act Sess. 14, Decem. 6. The Church Law Society ed. Edinb.: 1843. P. 9.

[3] Ibid., pp. 10, 11, 12.

enumerated, "interdicting morning and evening prayers, . . . bringing in innovations in the worship of God, such as the superstitious Service-book, tyrannous Book of Canons, and Book of Ordination." [4]

Thus the General Assembly of 1638 did all that in its power lay to abolish the novations of Episcopacy alike from the government and the worship of the Church of Scotland, and to restore to that Church the free and full use of her First Reformation polity.

By the time this was done the breach between Charles I. and his subjects had widened out, and the quarrel had become one with the English Parliament as well as with the Scottish people. Yielding to pressure he could no longer resist, the king summoned both Houses to meet at Westminster; and on the 3d of November 1640 the famous "Long Parliament" began its sittings.

For seven months thereafter Commissioners from Scotland were in London negotiating with the Lords of the treaty. To these English statesmen they gave in a paper drawn up by the greatest intellectual force among them. The larger part of Henderson's manifesto, written towards the close of 1640, and presented in the beginning of 1641, is devoted to a plea for uniformity, on the ground that "there can be small hope of unity in religion unless first there be one form of ecclesiastical government." With a view to, and in the interests of, this unity, "it is to be wished," say the Scots Commissioners, "that there were one Confession of Faith, one form of Catechism, *one Directory for all the parts of the public worship of God*, and for prayer, preaching, administration of Sacraments, &c., and one form of Church government in all the Churches of his majesty's dominions." [5]

[4] Peterkin's 'Records of the Kirk of Scotland.' Edinb.: 1838. P. 179.

[5] "Our Desires concerning Unity in Religion, and Uniformity of Church Government, as a special Mean to Conserve Peace in his Majesty's Dominions." —Hetherington's 'Hist. of the West. Assemb. of Divines,' Appendix I., pp. 380-392, 5th ed. Edinb.: 1890.

One result of the presence in England of the Scottish Commissioners appeared during the sittings of the General Assembly in 1641, when a letter was read "from some Ministers in England" addressed to the "Right Reverend and dear Brethren, now conveened in this Generall Assemblie." In this brotherly communication the Scottish Church was heartily saluted in the Lord and cordially congratulated upon the success attending "late endeavours for the restoring and settling of their "liberties and privileges in Church and Commonwealth." Reference was also made to the work of reformation in England, in the advancing of which the brethren in Scotland were courteously acknowledged to be "worthy instruments," and to the prospect of the yoke of Episcopacy, long groaned under in England, being removed.[6] To this fraternal epistle Alexander Henderson, as Moderator, was appointed to return "a courteous answer," which, says Robert Baillie, "he did very accurately." Addressing themselves to "Right reverend and dearly beloved Brethren in our Lord and common Saviour Jesus Christ," "the Ministers and Elders met together in this National Assembly" open with a graceful reference to "the good report which we heard of you and others of our Brethren of the Kirk of England, by some of our Ministers who, by the good providence of our Lord, had seen your faces and conversed with you." Then

[6] 'Acts,' *ut sup.*, 1641. Sess. 18, Aug. 9, p. 49. In the letter complaint is made of the Independent or Congregational form of Church government which "sundry sorts of men" are projecting to be set up in the room of Episcopacy. The judgment of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland upon that matter is earnestly entreated, all the more "because we sometimes hear from those of the aforesaid judgment, that some famous and eminent brethren, even amongst yourselves, doe somewhat encline unto an approbation of that way of government." When Henderson read this communication to the Assembly, he informed the fathers and brethren that the Scots thus referred to were "Mr David Dicksone and Mr Andrew Cant; bot none in all the Assemblie were more against Independancie than these two. The matters, after some dayes, were voyced; all in one voice rejected that conclusion" (as to Independency).—Baillie's 'Letters and Journals,' vol. i. p. 364.

follows an allusion to recent ecclesiastical troubles in Scotland as showing "what danger and contagion in matters of Kirk government, of divine worship, and of doctrine, may come from the one Kirk to the other." A sense of the danger and the gravity of the situation ought, it is represented, to lead "all that love the honour of Christ, and the peace of these Kirks and kingdomes, heartily to endeavour that there might be in both Kirks one Confession, *one Directory for publike worship*, one Catechisme, and one Forme of Kirk government." [7]

What a strong hold upon the desires of Scottish ecclesiastics this conception of ritual as well as doctrinal uniformity had taken is further evinced by another item in the proceedings of the Assembly of 1641. Writing from "Kilwinning" on the 20th of August to his cousin, Mr William Spang, Robert Baillie gave him this piece of information:—

"The Moderator did fall on a notable motion, of drawing up a Confession of Faith, a Catechisme, *a Directorie for all the parts of the publick worship*, and a Platforme of Government, *wherein possiblie England and we might agree*. All did approve the motion; and thereafter the burden of that labour was laid on the back of the mover, with libertie to vake [cease] from preaching whenever he pleased, and to take help of whom he thought meet. He did declyne to undertake it, yet it will lie on him; and readilie [possibly] in this he may doe some good." [8]

How favourably Henderson's "notable motion" was regarded in England can be gathered from a letter to the Assembly of 1642 from "some Ministers of England," dated "London, July 22, 1642," the gist of which is in this sentence:—

"And that this declaration of our selves may not leave you unsatisfied, we think it necessary further to expresse, that the desire of the most godly and considerable part amongst us is, that

[7] 'Acts,' *ut sup.*, p. 50.
[8] 'Letters and Journals,' *ut sup.*, p. 365.

the Presbyterian government, which hath just and evident foundation both in the Word of God and religious reason, may be established amongst us, and that (according to your intimation) we may agree in one Confession of Faith, *one Directorie of Worship*, one publike Catechisme, and form of government; which things, if they were accomplished, we should much rejoyce in our happy subjection to Christ our head, and our desired association with you our beloved brethren." [9]

In their reply to this communication the Scottish Church expressed gratification with what had come to hand so seasonably, and the encouragement received to renew "the desires of the late Commissioners of this kingdome for unity in religion, in the four particulars remembered by" the English brethren. This desire for unity is associated in the Scottish answer with a proposal for a national Assembly in this pregnant sentence:—

"We wish that the work may be begun with speed, and prosecuted with diligence, by the joint labours of some divines in both kingdoms, who may prepare the same for the view and examination of a more frequent [numerous] ecclesiastick meeting of the best affected to reformation there, and of the commissioners of the Generall Assembly here, that in end it may have the approbation of the Generall Assembly here, and of all the kirks there, in the best way that may be; we wish and hope at last in a *Nationall Assembly*." [10]

The English House of Commons gave practical effect to its own previous resolutions, as well as to the wishes of English and Scottish Presbyterians, by issuing, on the 19th of April 1642, the following order: "That the names of such divines as shall be thought fit to be consulted with concerning the matter of the Church be brought forward." On the day following Alexander Henderson, writing his friend Robert Baillie, who had been inquiring what progress the former had made in giving shape to his "notable motion," informed

[9] 'Acts,' *ut sup.*, p. 66. "A Letter from some Ministers of England."
[10] 'Acts,' *ut sup.*, p. 67.

the inquirer that he had made a beginning with his task, but had speedily abandoned the attempt. For so doing he had a variety of explanations to offer—the demands upon his time as the minister of an Edinburgh parish, the formidable nature of the undertaking, leading him to shrink from attempting "to sett downe other formes of prayer than we have in our Psalme Book, penned by our great and divine Reformers." [11] But another and more cogent reason was present to his mind, which he thus expresses:—

"Although neither time nor weakness had hindered, I cannot think it expedient that anie such thing, whether Confession of Faith, Direction for Worshipe, Forme of Government, or Catechisme Less or more, should be agreed upon and authorized by our Kirk till we sie what the Lord will doe in England and Ireland, where I still wait for a reformation and uniformitie with us; but this must be brought to passe by common consent, and we are not to conceave that they will embrace our Forme; but a new Forme must be sett downe for us all, and in my opinion some men sett apairt sometime for that worke; and although we should never come to this unitie in religion, and uniformitie in worship, yet my desire is to see what Forme England shall pitch upon before we publish ours." [12]

Obviously, so far as the leader of the Second Reformation was concerned, there was no intention to thrust a purely Scottish polity and ritual upon England, but, on the contrary, a readiness to accept what would be neither the English Book of Common Prayer nor the Scottish Book of Common Order, but "a new Forme."

[11] Dr Bannerman of Perth has little doubt the Scottish Collects of 1595 are specially referred to by Henderson in the above statement ('The Worship of the Presbyterian Church,' chap. iv. p. 65). But would Henderson describe these anonymous prayers, appearing in a solitary edition of the Scottish Metrical Psalter, as "penned by our great and divine Reformers"? Is it not more probable that his reference is to the prose portion of the Book of Common Order, which, as we have seen, was often spoken of as the "Psalme Book"?

[12] "Edinburgh, April 20, 1642." Baillie's 'Letters and Journals,' vol. ii. p. 2.

Upon the 13th of May 1643, a parliamentary instrument called an Ordinance, which is a Bill accepted by the two Houses but wanting the royal assent, was produced, and had the force of law given to it upon June 12th. It purports to be "an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the calling of an Assembly of learned and godly Divines and others, to be consulted with by the Parliament, for the settling of the government and liturgy of the Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the said Church from false aspersions and interpretations."[13] In the document itself Peers and Commoners state that they are resolved "that such a government shall be settled in the Church as may be most agreeable to God's holy Word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland, and other Reformed Churches abroad." Thereafter "all and every the persons hereafter in this present Ordinance named" are required and enjoined "to meet and assemble themselves at Westminster, in the Chapel called King Henry the VII.'s Chapel,[14] on the first day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and forty-three, . . . and the said persons . . . shall have power and authority, and are hereby likewise enjoined . . . to confer and treat among themselves of such matters and things, touching and concerning the liturgy, discipline, and government of the Church of England, for the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of

[13] This Ordinance is generally prefixed to editions of the Westminster Confession of Faith, &c.

[14] "This place appointed for their meeting was the place where the Convocation of 1640, notorious for its forlorn attempt to carry out the policy of 'thorough' despotism in Church and State, had met."—'The Westminster Assembly, its History and Standards.' By A. F. Mitchell, D.D. London: 1883. Lect. v. p. 133. "They did sit in Henry the 7ths Chappell, in the place of the Convocation; but since the weather grew cold, they did go to Jerusalem chamber, a fair roome in the Abbey of Westminster, about the bounds of the Colledge fore-hall, but wyder."—Baillie's 'Letters and Journals,' vol. ii. p. 107. See Dean Stanley's 'Memorials of Westminster Abbey.'

the same from all false aspersions and misconstructions, as shall be proposed unto them by both or either of the said Houses of Parliament, and no other."

Upon the day and at the place specified in this Ordinance the Westminster Assembly began its proceedings, disregarding a proclamation from the king, who attempted to arrest proceedings with the threat of a *præmunire* penalty.

In Scotland the General Assembly for that year met at Edinburgh in the month of August. On the 15th of that month a conference was held in the Moderator's private room. Two years earlier a meeting of a similar nature had been held in the Earl of Loudon's chamber on the invitation of the Marquis of Argyll and the Earl of Cassillis. Upon that occasion the matter of innovations in the conduct of public worship was discussed. The "novations" complained of were omitting the doxology, abstaining from kneeling for silent prayer upon entering the pulpit, "discountenancing read prayers," &c. Some who were present and "were suspected of innovating," notably David Dickson and Robert Blair, "did purge themselves fullie of all such intentions." The meeting broke up, all being "refreshed with a certaine hope of a solid agreement," making Baillie, who was there and has reported the proceedings, sanguine that they would not again be "fashed with idle toyes and scruples."[15]

But when the Assembly of 1643 met, it appeared the trouble from ritual innovations imported from England and Ireland was not at an end, and so another private meeting "anent the troublesome evil of novation" was found necessary.

The new school, allied with English Independents, and strengthened by the return from Ulster of Scottish emigrants of the south-western counties, were now agitating, not only for the discontinuance of the doxology and kneeling or bowing in the pulpit, but also for the omission of the Lord's Prayer from the public prayers, and of the Creed from the

[15] Baillie's 'Letters and Journals,' vol. i. pp. 362, 363.

administration of the sacraments, and, generally, for the disuse of all rubrics of ritual, even the simplest.

The discussion in the Moderator's private apartment was a protracted and heated one. The favourers of departure from use and wont in the alleged interests of purity and simplicity were heard, though with impatience, especially when they argued against the use of the Lord's Prayer. Such Scottish noblemen as were present expressed displeasure with the new movement, while Samuel Rutherfurd and David Dickson refuted the arguments of the innovators. "After one hour's jangling," it was found no progress had been made, and, in the interests of peace, many were disposed, Rutherfurd being specially so, to discontinue the use of the time-honoured "conclusion" and "bowing in the pulpit," induced to do so in view of agreement with England.[16]

Ultimately it was agreed that an Act should be drawn up authorising the compiling of a Scottish Directory for worship, and making special reference to innovating tendencies and practices that were troubling the peace of the Church.

The Act was drafted that same day by Alexander Henderson,[17] as one "for preparing the Directorie for the Worship of God." In terms thereof it was ordained "that a Directorie for Divine Worship, with all convenient diligence, be framed

[16] "In our privie meetings we had much debait anent the troublesome evill of novations. . . . Being called to the Moderator's chamber, Mr John M'Lellane and Mr John Nevay, most did propone their reasons for their judgement. Mr Samuell Rutherfoord and Mr D. [Dickson] did ansuer. All heard with disdaine Mr John Nevay's reasons were against the Lord's Prayer: after one hour's jangling, we left it nothing better; I found manie enclined, especiallie Mr Samuell, though he professed it duetie to ansuer satisfactorlie all their arguments, for peace cause, to passe from the use of the conclusion, and bowing in the pulpit, especiallie if we agree with England."—Baillie's 'Letters and Journals,' vol. ii. p. 94.

[17] "We agreed to draw up some act for satisficing in some measure all. . . . Mr Hendersone communicat to me the act he had drawn. I told him my mislike of some parts of it, as putting in too great ane equalitie the novators and their opposits; also my opinion that the Directorie might serve for manie good ends, bot no wayes for supressing, bot much encreasing, the ill of novations."—Baillie, *ut sup.*, pp. 94, 95.

and made ready, in all the parts thereof, against the next General Assembly, to be held in the year 1644."[18] The closing paragraph was specially directed against the disturbing innovators, forbidding, "under the pain of the censures of the Kirk, all disputation by word or writing, in private or publick, about different practices in such things as have not been formerly determined by this Kirk, and all condemning one of another in such lawfull things as have been universally received, and by perpetuall custome practised by the most faithfull ministers of the Gospell, and opposers of corruptions in this Kirk, since the first beginning of reformation to these times."[19]

Submitted to the Assembly at a later stage of the day, the Act was passed unanimously, and three ministers—Henderson, Calderwood, and Dickson—were appointed to draft the Directory.[20] Happily, or unfortunately, nothing came out of this movement for a purely Scottish Directory.[21] For to that

[18] Sess. 12, Aug. 15, 1643.—"Act for preparing the Directorie for the Worship of God."—Acts, *ut sup.*, pp. 79, 80.

[19] "And for preserving of peace and brotherly unity in the meanwhile, till the Directorie, by universall consent of the whole Kirk, be framed, finished, and concluded, the Assembly forbiddeth," &c., *ut sup.*—Acts, *ut sup.*, p. 80.

[20] "This act did pass unanimouslie with all. Mr Hendersone, Mr Calderwood, and Mr Dicksone, were voyced to draw with diligence that Directorie, wherein I wish them much better successe than I expect; yet in this I am comforted, that in none of our brethren who are taken with those conceits, appears as yet the least inclination to Independencie, and in these their different practises they become lesse violent, and more modest."—Baillie, *ut sup.*, p. 95.

[21] At p. 38 (n.) of 'Liturgical Proposals to Presbyterians of England tried by History, Experience, and Scripture' (London, 1891), the Rev. S. R. Macphail states that the Directory provided for by the Assembly of 1643 "appeared in 1644." "It is printed," writes Mr Macphail, "in Hall's 'Fragmenta Liturgica,' vol. i.," and the completed book in the same compiler's 'Reliquiæ Liturgicæ,' vol. i. But there is no evidence whatever to associate Henderson, Calderwood, and Dickson with the reprint in question. That is simply an English edition of the Book of Common Order as published in 1556, the Preface or Address being in Hall's 'Reliq. Liturg.,' dated "At Geneva, the 10th of February, Anno 1556," and the entire document being identical with "The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, &c., used in the English Congregation at Geneva, M.D.LVI.," as given in Knox's 'Works,' vol.

same Assembly of the Church of Scotland there came communications from the Houses of the English Parliament, and from "the Assembly of Divines in the Church of England," inviting co-operation in the drawing up of ecclesiastical standards. In the parliamentary declaration, presented by English Commissioners in person, both Houses expressed their desire that "the two kingdomes might be brought into a near conjunction in one form of Church government, one Directorie of Worship, one Catechisme, &c., and the foundation laid of the utter extirpation of Popery and Prelacie out of both kingdomes."[22]

In the letter from "the Assembly of Divines called, and now sitting by authority of both Houses of Parliament," thanks are rendered to God for putting it "into the hearts of our Parliament to cleanse the House of the Lord of all

iv. Mr Macphail has probably been misled by the editor of the 'Fragmenta' and 'Reliquiæ,' by no means a safe guide, especially in matters of Scottish ritual, and he, again, by finding on the title-page of "The Settled Order of Church Government, Liturgie and Discipline, for the rooting out of all Popery, Heresie, and Schisme, according to the Forme published by the Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland," that it was "most humbly presented to the learned Assembly of Divines now congregated at Westminster, by the authority of both Houses of Parliament, for the Reformation of abuses in the government of the Church." The same remark applies to what the Rev. Peter Hall reprints in vol. iii. of his 'Reliq. Liturg.' as an appendix to the Directory, under the title of "The Service, Discipline," &c., printed at London, 1641, 1643, and "presented to the High Court of Parliament," but which is simply "The Book of Common Order, &c., approved and received by the Church of Scotland, M.D.LXIV.," as reprinted in Knox's 'Works,' vol. vi. In "the Letter from the Commissioners at London to the Generall Assembly," dated "Worcester House, London, May 20, 1644," signed by "Jo. Maitland, Alex. Henderson, Robert Baillie, Sam. Rutherford, George Gillespie," and inserted in the Assembly minutes under "Sess. 7, June 4, 1644," there is this sentence, which seems to me to afford conclusive evidence that by that time all idea of compiling a Scottish Directory had been abandoned: "The Common Directory for Publick Worship in the Kirks of the three kingdomes is so begun (which we did make known to the commissioners of the Generall Assembly), that we could not think upon any particular Directory for our own Kirk, and yet it is not so far perfected that wee could present any part thereof unto your view."—Acts, *ut sup.*, p. 102.

[22] Acts, *ut sup.*, p. 82.

the uncleannesse that is in it, by impure doctrine, worship, or discipline;" and it is declared to be "a great consolation that our God hath put it into your hearts to designe [appoint] some godly and learned brethren to put in their sickles with us into this harvest, which is so great, and requires so many labourers; for which, as we heartily return thanks, so we earnestly pray the Lord to open a way to their timely coming hither, and do assure them of all testimonies of respect, love, and the right hand of fellowship, who shall undertake a journey so tedious, and now so perilous, to joyne with us in the work, when it shall please the Honourable Houses of Parliament to invite them thereunto." [23]

Answers were in due course returned by the Scottish Assembly to these English overtures. The Parliament of England was informed that the Church of Scotland had "nominated and elected" certain ministers of God's Word and ruling elders, "all of them men much approved here," "to repair unto the Assembly of Divines and others of the Church of England, now sitting at Westminster, to propound, consult, treat, and conclude with them . . . in all such things as may conduce to the utter extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, heresie, schisme, superstition, and idolatry—and for the setling of the so much desired union of this whole island in one forme of Church government, one Confession of Faith, one common Catechisme, and one Directorie for the Worship of God." [24]

The "Right Reverend the Assembly of Divines in the Church of England" were, in briefer terms, informed of the appointment of "some godly and learned of this Church to repair to your Assembly." [25]

Before the fathers and brethren, convened at Edinburgh, separated, there was drawn up a Commission "for these that repair to the kingdom of England," authorising them "to propone, consult, treat, and conclude . . . in all matters

[23] Ibid., pp. 83, 84. [24] Ibid., pp. 89, 90. [25] Ibid., p. 92.

which may further the union of this island in one forme of Kirk government, one Confession of Faith, one Catechisme, and one Directorie for the Worship of God, according to the instructions which they have received from the Assembly, or shall receive, from time to time hereafter, from the Commissioners of the Assembly, deputed for that effect." [26]

By the 14th of September three of the Commissioners from the Church of Scotland reached London,[27] and on the day following they were received and welcomed by the English divines as representatives of one of the covenanting churches and nations. Eleven days thereafter English members of Parliament and ministers of the Gospel, with the Scottish Commissioners, gathered in the little but historically famous Church of St Margaret's, Westminster, and there, after prolonged and renewed exercises of singing, praying, and preaching, with hands uplifted to heaven, worshipping the great name of God, they gave assent and adhesion to the SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.[28]

[26] Ibid., p. 94.

[27] The three were Alexander Henderson, George Gillespie, and John, Lord Maitland.

[28] The service at the taking of the Covenant on September 25, 1643, is described by Lightfoot in his Journals (Pitman's ed. of 'Works,' vol. xiii. p. 19), by Dr Hetherington ('Hist. of West. Assemb.,' chap. ii. pp. 120, 121), and by Dr Mitchell ('The West. Assemb.,' Lect. vi. pp. 176, 177), who gives Lightfoot's account. To only two points does our present subject lead us to refer. First, The title of this Church and State document. As framed by Henderson, and laid before the English Commissioners, it was entituled 'THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT FOR REFORMATION and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the Three Kingdoms of *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*.' By English writers such as Rushworth and Neal, the order of the first two kingdoms is inverted; so also by Mr S. R. Gardiner in 'The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1628-1660,' Oxford, 1889, pp. 187-190. That the order is as we have given appears from, Second, the first article of the Covenant, which has an important bearing upon our present inquiry, and is in this significant ordering and in these striking terms: "That we shall sincerely, really and constantly, through the Grace of GOD, endeavour in our several Places and Callings, the Preservation of the reformed Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, against our common enemies; the Reformation of

During the first ten weeks of its deliberations the Westminster Assembly was occupied with a revision of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England.[29] But on the 12th of October 1643, English members and Scottish Commissioners directed their attention to "the discipline and liturgy of the Church," moved to do so by an order from both Houses of the English Parliament. The order set forth that upon serious consideration of the present state and conjuncture of the affairs of this kingdom, the Lords and Commons do order that the Assembly do forthwith confer and treat among themselves of such a discipline and government as may be most agreeable to God's holy Word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other reformed Churches abroad . . . and touching and concerning the Directory of Worship or liturgy hereafter to be in the Church."[30]

In carrying out these orders the Assembly gave priority to

Religion in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, according to the Word of GOD, and the Example of the best reformed Churches; and shall endeavour to bring the Churches of GOD in the three kingdoms, to the nearest Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church Government, Directory for Worship and Catechizing; that we, and our Posterity after us, may, as Brethren, live in Faith and Love; and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us."

[29] "A committee of divines was appointed to consider what amendments were proper to be made in the doctrinal articles of the Church of England and report them to the Assembly, who were 10 weeks in debating upon the first 15, before the arrival of the Scots commissioners; the design was to render their sense more express and determinate in favour of Calvinism."—Neal's 'Hist. of the Puritans,' part iii. chap. ii. vol. ii. p. 215 of Tegg's ed. 1837. In Appendix VII. Neal gives the articles as revised "with the original articles of the Church in opposite columns" (vol. iii. pp. 519-524). According to Dr Hetherington, this part of the Assembly's labours "led to no practical result"; terminating abruptly and unfinished, it "cannot properly be said to form any part of the Assembly's actual proceedings" ('Hist.,' *ut sup.*, Period III. chap. ii. p. 115). But Prof. C. A. Briggs takes a wider view, and affirms "the labour was not fruitless" (American Presbyterianism, chap. i. § iii. p. 62, n. Also "The Documentary Hist. of the West. Ass.," by same writer in 'Presbyterian Review,' vol. i. 1880, an article displaying great historic insight.

[30] Lightfoot's 'Works,' *ut sup.*, vol. xiii. p. 17.

the matter of government, but arranged for the Directory or liturgy being proceeded with in committee.

On the 21st of May 1644, the divines were debating with apparently undiminished zest and keenness the power of the keys, and to whom it was given, the rights of a classical presbytery as distinct from those of a particular congregation, and suchlike questions, when a wearied Scot Commissioner, despairing of the matter of ritual being ever reached at this rate of progress, abruptly "moved for the speeding of the Directory for worship."[31] Seconded in this movement by an English Puritan,[32] Samuel Rutherfurd carried his proposal, and the committee in charge of the Directory were ordered to bring in some report in the course of three days. That committee had been employed upon a Directory since the middle of October in the previous year; but had, at an early stage, handed over the working out of the details to a small sub-committee, consisting of five members and all the Scot Commissioners.[33] From the journalist and letter-writer among the latter we obtain some insight as to what went on in committee; how, for example, "the matter of all the prayers of the Sabbath-day" was laid upon them; how the portion relating to the sacra-

[31] Ibid., p. 268.

[32] Rutherfurd's seconder was Stephen Marshall, "known as one of the best Puritans of his day, and as one of the Smectymnuans, and by many thought to be the best preacher in England."—Prof. Masson, 'Life of Milton,' &c., vol. ii. p. 519.

[33] . . . "in the meantime, we would assay to agree upon the Directorie of Worship, wherein we expect no small help from these men to abolish the great Idol of England, the Service Book, and to erect in all the parts of worship a full conformitie to Scotland in all things worthie to be spoken of. Haveing proponed thir motions . . . they were well taken; and . . were proponed by Mr Solicitour, seconded by Sir Harie Vane, my Lord Say, and my Lord Wharton, at our Committee, and assented to by all, that a sub-committee of five, without exclusion of anie of the Committee, shall meet with us of Scotland, for preparing a Directorie of Worship, to be communicate to the great committee, and by them to the Assemblie. The men also were as we had forethought, Mr Marshall chairman of the committee, Mr Palmer, Mr Goodwin, Mr Young, Mr Herle, any two whereof, with two of us, make a quorum."—Baillie's 'Letters and Journals,' 1643, vol. ii. pp. 117, 118.

ments found its way to the same burdened shoulders; and how, although the parts regarding preaching and catechising had been assigned to Mr Marshall and Mr Palmer, the one reputed to be the best preacher and the other the most skilful catechist in England, yet, their drafts not approving themselves to the judgment of the rest, the brethren from Scotland had these also devolved upon them; how the Independents in the committee were willing to allow sitting at the receiving of the Lord's Supper, but refused "to come out of their pews to a table," while the Scottish Presbyterians affirmed that to be necessary, and resolved to abide by it; finally, how one day in committee Mr Nye startled the sedate Scots by giving it as his private judgment that, in preaching, the minister should be covered and the people discovered [uncovered]; but that in sacramental observance the minister should be discovered as a servant, and the guests all covered.[34]

Then from the records of the English journalist and orientalist Lightfoot, we get information regarding the subjects which it was agreed should be treated of in the new Service-book, and the discussion to which in turn they gave rise. The matters discussed were such as these: the use of the Lord's Prayer; preaching; pulpit quotations in foreign languages; the reading of Scripture during service; the administration of sacraments; the employment of licentiates, or, as they were styled in the Reformed Churches, "Expectants," relieving the minister of part of the service, and thus acquiring experience; the mode of administering infant baptism by sprinkling, dipping, or pouring; the observance of days; and the contents of a preface to the new book of ritual.

[34] Ibid., p. 149. One of Baillie's pet aversions was this same Philip Nye. It is with evident satisfaction he records that when the English Puritan preached in Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh, in 1643, he did not please. "His voice was clamorous: he touched neither in prayer nor preaching the commou bussinesse: he read much out of his paper book." In the forenoon of the same day "we heard Mr Marshall preach with great contentment" (vol. ii. p. 97).

Baillie frankly admits that, while the labours of the committee were "exceeding great," yet the delay and loss of time were also great. Evidently the English Parliament thought so also; for when the summer and autumn of 1644 passed without anything being reported under the head of worship, there were signs of impatience. Upon the 25th of October, on the 12th and also the 20th of November, orders came from the House of Commons calling for the Directory, or at least some portion of it. As the result of these messages of urgency, a large part of what was proposed for the Puritan Service-book was sent to the Commoners. The sections relating to marriage and burial were, however, wanting; so, upon the 2d of December, the House of Commons expressed a desire to have these also submitted to them, seeing "the House intends to lay by the Book of Common Prayer, and cannot do it till these be finished."[35] To these portions, accordingly, the compilers addressed themselves, adding a section having for title, "Of Singing of Psalms." At last, writing from London on the 26th of December 1644, Baillie was able to make, in a "publick Letter," this satisfactory announcement: "We hope this day to close in the Assemblie the remainder of our Directorie, and to send it up to-morrow to the Houses; so the next week we expect an ordinance of Parliament for the whole Directorie."[36] The day following, informing his cousin William Spang of his probable departure for Scotland, he tells of an accomplished fact: "We have ended this day the Directorie in the Assemblie: the Houses are through the most of it alreadie; before we go they will pass all."[37]

What Baillie thus anticipated was issued on the 3d of January 1644-45, when an Ordinance of the English Parliament appeared setting aside the Book of Common Prayer, establishing the Directory, and ordering it to be observed throughout the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. A

[35] Lightfoot, 'Journal,' vol. xiii. p. 337.

[36] Baillie, *ut sup.*, vol. ii. p. 248.

[37] Ibid., p. 250.

short delay, however, occurred before this Ordinance could be given effect to, it being deemed only right and courteous to obtain, at this stage, the assent of Scottish Parliament and General Assembly. When the book came back from Scotland it was found to contain only two unimportant alterations as the outcome of careful revision, both of which were accepted alike by Peers and Commoners.[38] Thereafter an order for printing was issued on the 13th of March 1644-45, and shortly afterwards the work itself appeared with this for title: "A Directory for the Publique Worship of God throughout the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, together

[38] The "ACT of the GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the KIRK OF SCOTLAND for the establishing and putting in Execution of the DIRECTORY for the Public Worship of God," Feb. 3, 1645, represents the Supreme Court as "having most seriously considered, *revised*, and examined the *Directory* afore-mentioned, after several publick readings of it, after much deliberation, both publickly and in private committees, after full liberty given to all to object against it, and earnest invitations of all who have any scruples about it, to make known the same, that they might be satisfied." "Mr Tate reported from the Assembly some few alterations desired by the Church of Scotland to be made in the Directory for Public Worship; the which were read, and upon the question assented unto and carried to the Lords for their concurrence."—'Journals of the House of Commons,' vol. iv. p. 70. "A message was brought from the House of Commons by Zouch Tate, Esq., to let their Lordships know that the House of Commons have received a paper from the Assembly of Divines wherein they offer some alterations in the Directory to which the House of Commons have agreed, and their Lordships' concurrence is desired therein."—'Journals of the House of Lords,' vol. vii. p. 264. The proposed and agreed-to alteration affected the contents of two portions of the Directory. First, that part relating to the administration of baptism, the recommendation being to insert certain words "requiring" the parent's "solemn promise for the performance of his duty," and to omit the recommendation that the parent make a profession of his faith by answering to these or the like questions, as also the three questions which follow this recommendation. Second, the section relating to "the Solemnisation of Marriage." As originally drafted, the statement regarding the place in which "the purpose or contract of marriage is to be publicly solemnised" was described as "the place of the public meeting of the congregation;" but the Scottish Assembly proposed, and the Westminster Divines, with both Houses of the English Parliament agreed, that it be called "the Place appointed by Authority for publick Worship."—See Dr Mitchell, 'The West. Assemb.,' &c. *ut sup.*, Lect. vii. pp. 218, 219 n.

with an Ordinance of Parliament for the taking away of the Book of Common Prayer, and for establishing and observing of this present Directory throughout the kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales."

Before looking into the contents of the Westminster Book of Common Order, let us turn to Scotland and see what action was taken there regarding the endeavours of Puritan England and Presbyterian Scotland to compile a Service-book agreeable to both.

Two of the clerical Commissioners from Scotland—Gillespie and Baillie—left London so soon as the Directory was out of their hands, and reached Edinburgh on the evening of the 23d January 1645, the evening of the day upon which the General Assembly began its sittings. In addition to a letter of greeting and good wishes from their fellow-Commissioners remaining in England, the two ministers were bearers of a communication from "the Synode of Divines in England," in which occurs a paragraph of considerable importance, showing as it does in what light those who were responsible for it regarded the book in question.

"We have perfected," say they, "and transmitted a Directory for Worship to both Houses of Parliament, . . . which we hope will be to the joy and comfort of all our godly and dear brethren in all His Majestie's kingdoms and dominions. We have not advised any imposition which might make it unlawfull to vary from it in anything. . . . And albeit we have not expressed in the Directory every minute particular which is or might be either laid aside or retained among us as comely and usefull in practice: yet we trust, that none will be so tenacious of old customs not expressely forbidden, or so averse from good examples although new, in matters of lesser consequence, as to insist upon their liberty of retaining the one, or refusing the other, because not specified in the Directory; but be studious to please others rather than themselves."[39]

[39] Acts of Assembly, *ut sup.*, 1645, pp. 113-115. "The Letter from the Synode of Divines in England to the Generall Assembly."—Peterkin's 'Records,' &c., pp. 416-418; Baillie's 'Letters,' &c., vol. ii. p. 259.

Upon the day on which the returned Commissioners addressed the House, which they did "with great applause and contentment of all," in presence of "the choice of the Ministers and Elders, almost the whole Parliament, Nobles, Barons, and Burgesses," the Directory was read "from end to end."[40] A large committee had all the documents laid upon the table remitted to them for examination and revision. Within a week the committee had done their work to the entire satisfaction of all parties. The way was thus clear for what took place upon the 3d of February 1644-45, when there passed an "Act of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, for the Establishing and putting in Execution of the Directory for the Publick Worship of God." Drawn up by George Gillespie,[41] and "consented to in the Assembly with a joy unspeakable," this deliverance alludes at the outset to "an happy unity and uniformity in religion amongst the Kirks of Christ in these three kingdoms, united under one Soveraigne," as being "long and earnestly wished for by the godly and well-affected amongst us," and "revived in the Solemne League and Covenant of the three kingdomes, whereby they stand straitly obliged to endeavour the neerest Uniformity in one forme of Church Government, Directory of Worship, Confession of Faith, and Forme of Catechising." Dealing with the second of these symbols of uniformity, the Act describes it as "agreed upon by the Honourable

[40] In worthy Baillie's opinion, this "wes one of the fairest Assemblies I had seen." He has carefully preserved among his papers what, with manifest parental partiality, he calls "My Assembly Speech" (ibid., pp. 255-257). In the course of his speech the Commissioner describes the Directory as "the practise of the Church of Scotland sett down in a most wholesome, pious, and prudent Directorie," that had "come in the place of a Liturgie in all the three dominions."

[41] "Mr And. R[amsay] wes oft exceeding impertinent with his ostentation of antiquitie, and Mr D. Cald[erwood] wes oft faschious with his very rude and humorous [ill-humoured] opposition: yet we gott them also at last contented; and the Act, which Mr Gillespie drew very well, consented to, in the Committee first, and thereafter in the Assemblie, with a joy unspeakable, blessed be God."—Baillie, *ut sup.*, p. 260.

Houses of the Parliament of England, after consultation with the Divines of both kingdomes there assembled, and sent to us for our approbation," in order that, "being also agreed upon by this Kirk and kingdome of Scotland, it may be, in the name of both kingdomes, presented to the King for his royall consent and ratification." Then comes the approval of the Directory in these emphatic terms:—

"The Generall Assembly having most seriously considered, revised, and examined the *Directory* afore mentioned, after severall publick readings of it, after much deliberation, both publickly and in private committees, after full liberty given to all to object against it, and earnest invitations of all who have any scruples about it to make known the same, that they might be satisfied; Doth unanimously, and without a contrary voice, agree to and approve the following *Directory*, in all the heads thereof, together with the *Preface* set before it; and doth require, decerne, and ordain, That, according to the plain tenour and meaning thereof, and the intent of the *Preface*, it be carefully and uniformly observed and practised by all the ministers and others within this kingdome whom it doth concerne." [42]

While thus cordially and with unanimity accepting the Directory, the Church of Scotland was careful to qualify her acceptance with a declaratory statement similar in effect to that with which, in 1647, she qualified or amplified her adherence to the Westminster Confession of Faith—this being the first of a long series of "providings," "markings," and explanatory statements or acts which have characterised acceptance of the Westminster Standards, wherever and by whomsoever adopted. The qualifying statement in this case is in these terms:—

"Provided alwayes, that the Clause in the *Directory*, of the Administration of the LORD'S Supper, which mentioneth the Communicants sitting about the Table, or at it, be not interpreted as if, in the Judgement of this Kirk, it were indifferent and free for any

[42] Acts, &c., *ut sup.*, pp. 115, 116. See also p. 188, note 38 of this work. This Act is generally prefixed to modern editions of the Directory.

of the Communicants not to come to, and receive at the Table; or as if we did approve the distributing of the Elements by the Minister to each Communicant, and not by the Communicants amongst themselves. It is also provided, That this shall be no Prejudice to the Order and Practice of this Kirk in such Particulars as are appointed by the Books of Discipline and Acts of Generall Assemblies, and are not otherwise ordered and appointed in the Directory."

With unanimity and heartiness not inferior to those displayed by the ecclesiastical court, and after an interval of only three days, the Parliament of the kingdom of Scotland approved and established the Directory for Publick Worship.

"The Estates of Parliament now convened, . . . do heartily and cheerfully agree to the said Directory, according to the act of the General Assembly approving the same. Which act, together with the Directory itself, the Estates of Parliament do, without a contrary voice, ratify and approve in all the Heads and Articles thereof; and do interpone and add the authority of Parliament to the said act of the General Assembly." [43]

Yet another measure was taken with the well-weighed Directory before permission was given to the king's printer to issue a Scottish edition. The Assembly made a remit to "the Committee for keeping the greater Uniformitie in this Kirk, in the practice and observation of the Directory in some points of publick Worship," to formulate a judgment upon some matters of detail, and to report. This was done in a document containing four Articles, one of these consisting of twelve particulars.[44] Some of the matters treated of in this "opinion of the Committee" we may have occasion to bring forward at an after stage. For the present it is

[43] Charles I., Parl. 3, Sess. 5.

[44] "The Opinion of the Committee for keeping the greater Uniformitie in this Kirk, in the practice and observation of the Directory in some Points of Publick Worship."—Acts, &c., *ut sup.*, pp. 120, 121; Peterkin's 'Records,' &c., pp. 421, 422; Dr Leishman's Reprint of the Directory (Edin., 1868), pp. 266-268. The article, containing twelve particulars, relates to the administration of the Lord's Supper.

enough to note the finding of the Assembly regarding the entire document: "The Assembly, having considered seriously the judgement of the Committee above-written, doth approve the same in all the Articles thereof, and ordains them to be observed in all time hereafter."

The way being now cleared, the Committee of Estates and the Commissioners of the Assembly, appointed in February for the purpose, sanctioned the printing and publishing of the new Book of Common Order, in the months of April and May, whereupon there speedily issued from the Edinburgh printing-press of Evan Tyler what purported to be: "A DIRECTORY for The Publike Worship of GOD Throughout the three Kingdoms of SCOTLAND, ENGLAND, and IRELAND. WITH *An Act of the Generall Assembly of the Kirk of* Scotland, *for establishing and observing this present Directory.*"[45]

In the case of a book of ritual so accessible and presumably so familiar to all Scottish Presbyterians, it is unnecessary to give an exhaustive analysis of the component sections. We content ourselves, therefore, with a reference to some matters of salient character and interest.

[45] "EDINBURGH: Printed by *Evan Tyler*, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie, 1645." The following extracts illustrate the introduction of the Directory as the Service-book of Scotland:—

(1.) "The 2 of November 1645.—The quhilk day I read in effect the Directory of publik Worshiping of God to our people, and that with great truble, being to teache agan at afternoon." "The 29 of Merche 1646.—I began this day to practise the ordour sett down in the Directorye for publict Worshipe; for my sone, Mr Robert Row, had practised it in this kirk the Sabbath befor, and besoght me to assey it, because many thocht that I had bein against that gud ordour."—'Account of the Life of John Row, Minister of Carnock' (Wodrow Society), pp. xxxi, xxxii.

(2.) "3 Marche 1650. . . . It is to be rememberit that in the monethis of Marche and Apryll 1646, the Directorie for Godis service began."—Nicoll's 'Diary' (Bannatyne Club), p. 5.

(3.) "The Directory in its principal parts is ordered to be read in all the churches on Sabbath eight-days, and 'on the Lord's day thereafter to be uniformly practised by the whole brethren.'"—Minute of the Presbytery of Ayr, dated August 1645, quoted by Dr Edgar, 'Old Church Life in Scotland,' first series. Paisley: 1885. Lect. ii. p. 60, n.

And first, the title of this Westminster document ought not to be overlooked. It is neither a Book of Common Prayer nor a Book of Common Order. It is not, to fall back upon the old Geneva pattern of title, "The Form of Prayers and Ministration of Sacraments," any more than it is, according to a favourite form of title in Scotland early in the seventeenth century, "The CL. Psalms of David in Prose and Meeter, whereunto is added Prayers commonly used in the Kirks." It is simply "A Directory for the Publike Worship of God." The choice of title is probably to be traced to Alexander Henderson. For in the paper written by that divine towards the close of 1640 for the benefit of the Lords of Treaty, we find him expressing the wish that there were "one Directory for all the parts of the public worship of God;" while, in his little treatise on 'The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland,' published in 1641, he states that Presbyterian ministers, although "not tied to set forms and words," are "not left at randome, but have *their directory* and prescribed order."

Whoever is to be credited with the choice of the term, there can be no dispute as to the aptness of the selection. For the word Directory exactly describes the nature and contents of a Presbyterian as distinguished from a liturgical service-book. It concisely expresses the distinction drawn by David Calderwood in his exhaustive 'Altar of Damascus,' between a liturgy proper and a book of agenda or paradigms. Wherever the former is used, he observes, nothing is left to the choice of the minister, who must conduct the services according to forms laid down, and in words prescribed. In the Church of Scotland, on the other hand, we have, he declares, our agenda and an order to be observed in conducting divine service; and yet no one is tied down to the prayers or exhortations which are given as so many examples, in which, while structure and substance are indicated, there is no intention of binding ministers to the exact terms em-

ployed.[46] For a book the compilers of which aimed at conserving ministerial liberty, giving scope for the exercise of gifts and graces, but at the same time preserving order and a measure of uniformity, no more felicitous term than "Directory" could have been employed.

This may have confirmation when one passes from title-page to preface. Rightly to appreciate that part of the document, we ought to view it from the English rather than from the Scottish standpoint, and to read it in the light of the Ordinance of the English Parliament in January 1644-45, which was passed not only for establishing and observing the new Service-book, but also for the taking away of the Book of Common Prayer.

It is with a reference to what was set aside that the preface of the Directory begins. Declared to have been in the beginning of the Reformation a cause of rejoicing because bringing deliverance from "the Mass and the rest of the Latin service," and resulting in public worship being "celebrated in our own tongue," the Book of Common Prayer is nevertheless charged with proving "an offence, not only

[46] "Omnibus his publicæ Liturgiæ partibus illud commune est, quod ministri arbitrio nihil permittitur non preces concipere, prout afflaverit spiritus, non exhortari, prout secundum donorum mensuram potest, sed conceptis formulis, et præscriptis verbis orare, exhortare, admonere, docere. Nam hæc omnia præscribuntur in administrandis Sacramentis et precibus, adeo ut non liceat Presbytero Anglicano, licet anglorum linquis loqui posset, in cœna celebranda aliis verbis exhortare, excitare affectus, aut docendo illuminare et instruere quam verbis præscriptis, et sic in aliis publicæ liturgiæ partibus. Habemus quidem nos etiam in Ecclesia nostra Agenda et Ordinem in Sacris celebrandis servandum; sed nemo alligatur precibus aut exhortationibus liturgiæ nostræ; proponuntur tantum ut paradigmata quibus precum aut exhortationum materia et forma, quoad substantialia, indicantur, non ut eisdem verbis adstringantur. Totos ego tredecim annos quibus functus sum ministerio, sive in Sacramentis, sive in aliis sacris celebrandis, exhortationibus aut precibus quæ extant in Agenda nostra nunquam usus sum. Sic etiam alii complures; et omnibus etiam liberum est idem facere. Et puerile est, ut mihi videtur, aliter facere."—'Altare Damascenum; ceu Politia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ obtrusa Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, a formalista quodam delineata, illustrata et examinata studio et opera Edwardi Didoclavii.' Anno MDCXXIII.

to many of the godly at home, but also to the Reformed Churches abroad."

The requiring all the prayers to be read; the multiplying of unprofitable and burdensome ceremonies; the endeavouring on the part of "Prelates and their Factions" "to raise the Estimation of it to such an Height as if there were no other Worship or Way of worship of God amongst us, but only the Service-book; to the great Hindrance of the Preaching of the Word, and (in some Places, especially of late) to the justling of it out as unnecessary; or (at best) as far inferior to the reading of Common Prayer;" and the tendency on the part of many ignorant and superstitious people to make of their Prayer-book an Idol, "pleasing themselves in their presence at that Service, and their Lip-labour in bearing a Part in it,"—these are some of the grounds upon which the Liturgy used in the Church of England, "notwithstanding all the Pains and Religious Intentions of the Compilers of it," is condemned by the framers of the Westminster Directory.

When to these considerations it was added that Papists were making use of the book for party purposes, giving out that it was "a Compliance with them in a great Part of their Service," and that experience had proved a liturgy fostered, if it did not create, "an idle and unedifying Ministry, which contented itself with set Forms made to their Hands by others, without putting forth themselves to exercise the Gift of Prayer," that it had been a snare to godly and faithful ministers, and a hindrance to those of "hopeful parts" who had thoughts of the ministry—it was felt impossible to disregard "the gracious Providence of God, which at this Time calleth upon us for further Reformation," as also "the Desires of many of the Godly among ourselves," for some "public Testimony of our Endeavours for Uniformity in Divine Worship, which we have promised in our Solemn League and Covenant." And so it was "resolved[47] to lay aside the

[47] "After earnest and frequent calling upon the Name of God, and after much Consultation, not with Flesh and Blood, but with his holy Word."

former Liturgy, with the many Rites and Ceremonies formerly used in the Worship of God," and to agree upon this "Directory for all the Parts of public Worship, at ordinary and extraordinary Times."

What had been aimed at in the preparation of the book is stated in a concluding paragraph:—

"Our Care hath been, to hold forth such Things as are of divine Institution in every Ordinance; and other Things we have endeavoured to set forth according to the Rules of Christian Prudence, agreeable to the general Rules of the Word of God: Our Meaning therein being only, that the general Heads, the Sense and Scope of the Prayers, and other Parts of public Worship, being known to all, there may be a Consent of all the Churches, in those Things that contain the Substance of the Service and Worship of God; and the Ministers may be hereby directed, in their Administrations, to keep like Soundness in Doctrine and Prayer; and may, if Need be, have some Help and Furniture; and yet so, as they become not hereby slothful and negligent in stirring up the Gifts of Christ in them, but that each one, by Meditation, by taking heed to himself and the Flock of God committed to him, and by wise observing the Ways of Divine Providence, may be careful to furnish his Heart and Tongue with further or other Materials of Prayer and Exhortation, as shall be needful upon all Occasions."

After the preface there come fourteen sections dealing in succession with the ordinary services on the Lord's Day, the administration of sacraments, the observance of the Sabbath, the solemnisation of marriage, the visitation of the sick, the burial of the dead, public fasting, the observance of days of public thanksgiving, the singing of Psalms, and "an Appendix touching Days and Places for Public Worship."

Of these fourteen sections the first five and the last but one may be treated as one division of the work, all of them having a relation to the divine service of the congregation.

According to what is set forth in this division of the Directory, the constituent elements of any Sabbath service are praying, reading of Scripture, preaching, and singing. The

third of these is outside the range of our inquiry, and so we restrict ourselves to the first, second, and fourth.

*First, Prayer.*—To this part of the service considerable prominence is given by the Westminster divines. The first utterance on the part of the minister, the congregation being assembled, is to be a "solemn calling on them to the worshipping of the great Name of God."[48] Thereafter he is "to begin with Prayer." The outline which follows opens with a reverent and humble acknowledgment of the incomprehensible greatness and majesty of the Lord, of human vileness, unworthiness, and inability, and concludes with supplication for pardon, assistance, acceptance, and a blessing on the reading of the Word.

Prayer has also a place in the rubric of the Directory after Scripture reading and immediately before the sermon. This being the leading or long prayer of the service, fuller confession is followed up by more amplified petitions. When calling upon the Lord "to this effect," "the minister who is to preach" is "to pray for the Propagation of the Gospel and Kingdom of Christ to all Nations, for the Conversion of the *Jews*, the Fulness of the *Gentiles*, the fall of *Antichrist*, and the hastening of the Second Coming of our Lord; for the Deliverance of the distressed Churches abroad from the tyranny of the *Antichristian Faction*, and from the cruel Oppressions and Blasphemies of *the Turk;* for the Blessing of God upon the

[48] Upon "Days of Public Thanksgiving" "the Minister is to begin with a Word of Exhortation, to stir up the People to the Duty for which they are met." Dr Leishman identifies this calling on or exhorting of the congregation with *prefacing*. "In the sub-committee, there was much difference of opinion regarding it, though it was sanctioned by the customs of both kingdoms, by the form beginning, *Dearly beloved brethren*, in the Common Prayer, by Cartwright's Directory, and by the rubric in the Common Order. The preface has long disappeared from the Scottish service. An exposition of the psalm seems to have been at an early period substituted for it." This practice "is still observed in some of the older Dissenting congregations in Scotland."—Reprint of Directory. Edinb.: 1868. Appendix, p. 329. Specimens of "prefaces" before prayer will be found in Alexander Henderson's 'Sermons, Prayers, and Pulpit Addresses.' Edinb.: 1867.

Reformed Churches, especially upon the Churches and Kingdoms of *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*, now more strictly and religiously united in the *Solemn National League and Covenant;* and for our Plantations in the remote Parts of the World: More particularly for that Church and Kingdom whereof we are Members."

He is also called upon in this full outline "to pray for all in Authority, especially for the King's Majesty, . . . for the Conversion of the Queen,[49] the religious Education of the Prince, . . . for the comforting of the afflicted Queen of *Bohemia*, sister to our Sovereign; and for the Restitution and Establishment of the illustrious Prince *Charles*, Elector *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, to all his Dominions and Dignities." So full and detailed is the outline of this prayer in the Directory, that when the draft of the preface was under consideration at Westminster, a proposal was made to insert a clause to the effect that ministers would be at liberty to turn what was thus furnished them into a direct, formal prayer. This was met by a counter-proposal to prohibit ministers using in such a way what was only intended to be a suggestive outline.[50]

Ultimately neither the permissive nor the prohibitive course was adopted; and so, according to the Puritan historian Neal, "those who were for set forms resolved to confine themselves to the very words of the Directory, while others made use of them only as heads for their enlargement." [51]

[49] The wife of Charles I. was a Romanist. On "Apryle 8, 1638," the Sabbath before the Communion at Leuchars, Alex. Henderson in his prayer after sermon, having earnestly supplicated for the king, offered this petition: "Bless his Queen; make her to hate all superstition and idolatry, and to know thy truth and to love it."—*Ut sup.*, p. 117.

[50] Lightfoot, 'Works,' *ut sup.*, vol. xiii. p. 322. Lightfoot himself argued against the latter course, regarding it as "dangerous to hint anything against a form of prayer."

[51] 'Hist. of the Puritans,' part iii. chap. iv. vol. ii. p. 275, ed. of 1837. Referring to "the materials provided for the ordinary services of the Lord's Day," Dr Mitchell gives well-weighed and weighty judgment: "I confess that the more I examine them, the more I am satisfied that even they were meant to be expanded, and required to be so in order to bring out their real value, and

The third prayer in the service as ordered in the Directory comes immediately after the sermon. According to the outline of this prayer, the minister begins with thanksgiving, giving thanks at the outset "for the great Love of God in sending his Son Jesus Christ unto us; for the Communication of his holy Spirit; for the Light and Liberty of the glorious Gospel, and the rich and heavenly Blessings revealed therein;" he then passes on to petition, turning "the chief and most useful Heads of the Sermon into some few Petitions," and praying "that it may abide in the Heart and bring forth Fruit." The outline is followed up by this rubric of direction: "And because the Prayer which Christ taught his Disciples is not only a Pattern of Prayer, but itself a most comprehensive Prayer, we recommend it also to be used in the Prayers of the Church."

While the framers of the Westminster Directory evidently favoured an arrangement of the service which would give three prayers—two before and one after sermon, the first largely devoted to adoration, the second to confession and petition, and the third to thanksgiving—they were at pains to disclaim any intention to lay down a hard-and-fast line, such as would render deviation unlawful and impracticable.

Thus, after the outline prayer, immediately before preaching, there is inserted this discretionary proviso: "We judge this to be a convenient Order, in the ordinary publick Prayers; yet so, as the Minister may defer (as in Prudence he shall think meet) some Part of these Petitions till after his Sermon, or offer up to God some of the Thanksgivings hereafter appointed, in his Prayer before his Sermon."

*Second*, The *reading of Scripture* is expressly recognised by the Directory compilers as a constituent part of public

their adaptation to the purpose they were meant to serve. They are so packed with matter, that their full significance cannot otherwise really be brought home to the heart and conscience, nor would they without such expansion have satisfied the eager craving for lengthened services which had then set in."—'The West. Assemb.,' &c., *ut sup.*, Lect. vii. pp. 233, 234.

worship.[52] The reading is to be from all the canonical books of the Bible, the apocryphal writings being expressly excluded. The reading ought to be consecutive. Some portions of the Word are to be more frequently read in public than others, as, for example, the book of Psalms.[53] If it is deemed necessary or desirable to furnish elucidation or explanation, this ought not to be interjected in the reading, but be reserved till the close. The reading of the Scripture passages is devolved upon "the Pastors and Teachers"; but permission to read occasionally in public, and exercise their gift in preaching, is granted in the case of "such as intend the ministry," under the cognisance and with the sanction of the presbytery of the bounds.[54]

Before the Directory took final form there was a good deal of discussion, both in committee and in the Westminster Assembly, regarding the employment of readers in this part of the service.

When the Scottish Commissioners came to London, they found that the English Puritans favoured the restricting of reading the passages to those in the pastoral office, and that

[52] "Reading of the Word in the Congregation, being Part of the publick Worship of God, . . . is to be performed by the Pastors and Teachers."—'Of publick reading of the holy Scriptures.'

[53] "All the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament (but none of those which are commonly called *Apocrypha*) shall be publickly read in the vulgar Tongue, out of the best allowed Translation, distinctly, that all may hear and understand.

"How large a Portion shall be read at once, is left to the Wisdom of the Minister; but it is convenient, that ordinarily one Chapter of each Testament be read at every Meeting.

"It is requisite that all the Canonical Books be read over in Order . . .; and ordinarily where the reading in either Testament endeth on one Lord's Day, it is to begin the next.

"We commend also the more frequent reading of such Scriptures, as he that readeth shall think best for Edification of his Hearers, as the Book of Psalms, and such like."—Ibid.

[54] "Howbeit, such as intend the Ministry, may occasionally both read the Word, and exercise their Gift in preaching in the Congregation, if allowed by the Presbytery thereunto."—Ibid.

preachers of greatest popularity in the metropolis were accustomed to do what in Scotland had fallen to the reader standing at the desk or "lettern," in addition to their own service in the pulpit.[55] That seemed to Baillie, Henderson, and Gillespie to lay rather too heavy a burden upon the minister, and to endanger the prominence they desired to be given to preaching; and in that view the Independents were disposed to side with the Scottish Presbyterians. With reluctance, however, did they abandon the thought of retaining or reviving the function of the reader, when, after a careful study of the subject, they came to the conclusion that there is no warrant in Scripture for such an office-bearer.[56] All they could see their way to doing was to provide occasional relief for an overburdened minister, and that they did by permitting him to avail himself now and again of the assistance of "such as intend the ministry."

*Third*, The remaining element of public worship provided for in the Westminster Directory is that of *Praise*. There are only two explicit references to this part of divine service among the directions for Sabbath worship. The first occurs in the opening clause of the rubric regulating the prayer before sermon, and is parenthetical in its nature. "After reading of the Word (*and singing of the Psalm*), the Minister who is to preach is to endeavour to get his own and his Hearers' Hearts to be rightly affected with their Sins." The other reference to singing is of the nature of a rubric directing what should be done when the prayer after the sermon is ended.

[55] "Alwayes these of best note about London are now in use, in the desk, to pray, and read in the Sunday morning four chapters, and expone some of them and cause sing two Psalms, and then to goe to the pulpit to preach."—Baillie, 'Letters,' &c., vol. ii. p. 122.

[56] "All, both they [the Independents] and we, would gladly have been at the keeping still of Readers; for we foresaw the burthen which the removeall would bring on the Ministers back: but after all our studie, we could find no warrand for such ane officer in the Churche."—Baillie, *ut sup.*, p. 258. For some historical notes bearing upon the employment of readers in the Church of Scotland, see Appendix M of this work.

Then "let a Psalm be sung, if with Conveniency it may be done." It is, however, to be kept in mind that what had previously been the reader's service was, according to the new order, to be conducted by the minister himself, and *that* service included the singing of a psalm. To give effect to this arrangement in Scotland, the Committee of 1645 suggested, and the Assembly agreed, that the minister should be in his place half an hour earlier than had been his wont, taking care to bring the whole service to a close "at the time which formerly closed the exercise of public worship."

The ordinance of praise has no place in those sections of the Directory relating to the administration of the sacraments, or the solemnisation of marriage. It is, however, provided for in the directions "*concerning public solemn Fasting.*" "So large a Portion of the Day, as conveniently may be, is to be spent in public Reading and Preaching of the Word, with Singing of Psalms fit to quicken Affections suitable to such a Duty,"—so runs the fourth rubric. It is also provided, when the observance of "*Days of public Thanksgiving*" is the matter on hand: "And because Singing of Psalms is of all other the most proper Ordinance for expressing of Joy and Thanksgiving, let some pertinent Psalm or Psalms be sung for that Purpose, before or after the reading of some Portion of the Word suitable to the present Business."

The last section of the Directory, "*Of Singing of Psalms,*" was not in the original programme of the compilers, and the subject was not taken up till the final revision was entered upon.[57] Evidently the majority of the Westminster divines regarded congregational singing much in the same light as did the framers of the Book of Discipline, who, we have seen, styled it "a profitable, but not necessary act of worship." The

[57] "It was then [when the Directory for ordinary worship and administration of the sacraments was receiving a final revision in November] for the first time entered on the list of contents, after repeated motions made by Lightfoot."—Dr Leishman, Reprint, *ut sup.*, pp. 365, 366.

section consists of three short paragraphs. The first affirms "the Duty of Christians to praise God publickly, by Singing of Psalms together in the Congregation, and also privately in the Family." The second describes the manner of singing, the voice being "tunably and gravely ordered," but the chief Care always being "to sing with Understanding, and with Grace in the Heart." The remaining paragraph makes a special and temporary provision for congregational praise. That all may join, "every one that can read is to have a Psalm-book," and all who cannot "are to be exhorted to learn to read," unless "disabled by Age or otherwise." "But for the present," the paragraph goes on to state, "where many in the Congregation cannot read, it is convenient that the Minister, or some other fit Person appointed by him and the other Ruling Officers, do read the Psalm, Line by Line, before the singing thereof."

In Lightfoot's 'Journal,' under the date December 19, 1644, there is this entry, which has an important bearing upon the practice thus deemed convenient "for the present": "Then was our Directory for singing psalms read over to the Scots Commissioners who were absent at the passing of it; and Mr Henderson disliked our permission of any to read the psalms line by line: and this business held us some debate: which ended in this—that the Scots were desired to draw up something to this purpose."[58] Unfortunately the 'Journal' of the English scholar, ending with the last day of 1644, gives no further information upon the subject, and the Minutes of the Sessions are disappointingly brief at this stage.[59] From

[58] Lightfoot's 'Works,' *ut sup.*, vol. xiii. p. 344.

[59] "*Sess.* 344, *December* 19 [1644], *Thursday morning.*—Debate about singing of Psalms. *Ordered*, That the Commissioners of Scotland be desired to present something to the Assembly concerning the third proposition in the Directory for singing of Psalms to-morrow morning to be considered of in the Assembly. *Sess.* 345, *December* 20, 1644, *Friday morning.*—Mr Henderson made report of that committed to them. It was ordered. *Sess.* 348, *December* 27, 1644, *Friday morning.*—Report of the Directory for singing of Psalms ordered to be sent up."—'Minutes of the Sessions of the West. Assem-

what is on record, however, it appears certain that the Scottish Commissioners were averse to the innovation of "reading the line," and it is probable that when the matter was remitted to them they modified the paragraph by the introduction of such clauses as "for the present, where many in the Congregation cannot read," and "it is convenient." The history of this psalmody usage, introduced into Scotland from England, according to which each line is recited or chanted in monotone on the note in which the first syllable is to be sung, is amusing, if not instructive. It gained such a footing in the country, especially in those parts "where many in the Congregation cannot read," that the proposal to discontinue it and return to the earlier and more natural system of continuous singing has been denounced as a modern innovation! The Assembly of 1746 only ventured to recommend that it should be discontinued in family worship.[60] In the Lowlands of Scotland the giving out of the line has of late years only been associated with Communion-table services; and now that simultaneous communion has become the rule and not the exception, even this survival of the English practice is becoming increasingly rare.

In this connection it may be inquired, What was the attitude of the Westminster authorities with reference to the singing of the Doxology? We have seen that in 1641, and thereafter in 1643, some trouble was experienced by the leading ecclesiastics of Scotland in consequence of departures from use and wont, in which the influence of English Independents could be traced. One of the innovations requiring to be dealt with was that of omitting the "conclusion" in congregational singing. Evidence to the same effect can be gathered from the letters and papers of Robert Baillie.

bly of Divines.' Edited by Dr Mitchell and Dr Struthers. Edinb.: 1874. Pp. 21-23.

[60] "The General Assembly do recommend to private families, that in their religious exercises, singing the praises of God, they go on without the intermission of reading each line."—*Sess.* 9, *May* 22, 1746. 'Acts,' *ut sup.*, p. 687.

In a document of his drawing up, undated, but which may with safety be assigned to the decade extending from 1640 to 1650, the minister of Kilwinning gives an account of his dealings with some innovators in his parish. The paper has for heading: "The summe of my conference yesterday with three or four yeomen of my flock who refused to sing the conclusion." Speaking plainly and forcibly to his recalcitrant members, he warns them that the rejecting of the Doxology will not end there, but will lead to the adoption of other errors of Robert Brown, the English separatist; he vindicates the structure of all such forms of praise on the ground that it is nothing more than a metrical paraphrase of the words, "Glory be to God for ever"; he meets the contention that it is "an human Popish invention" by denying that it can be called Popish simply because found in the Liturgy and Mass-book, which holds equally good of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed; he disposes of the objection to frequent repetitions by pointing out that the Doxology is used only "once in one song"; and he replies to the assertion that men ought not to "be tyed to the use of things indifferent" by inquiring if to give glory to God is a thing indifferent, and by affirming that seeing there was freedom to use "that piece of worship sometimes, and sometimes to omit it," there could be no propriety in speaking about "a tye" being laid on any one. The conference closes with a solemn warning to the innovating yeomen not to treat slightingly what had been addressed to them, and with an affectionate invitation to return to their former practice, and cheerfully join their minister and fellow-worshippers in an ascription of eternal praise to the Three Persons of the Trinity.[61]

To his annoyance, however, Baillie found that dissatisfaction with this form of praise was not confined to Ayrshire yeomen.

[61] The entire paper is given by Dr Livingston in his 'Scot. Met. Psalter of 1635,' as transcribed for him by Dr Thomas M'Crie, jun., from a MS. in the possession of the latter. Diss. iii. p. 36, and Notes, p. 60.

Writing to Campvere in June 1643—a year after he had been appointed joint Professor of Divinity in Glasgow University—he informs his cousin that no fewer than seven ministers in the south-west of Scotland had drawn up a lengthy treatise, written in "a verie bitter and arrogant strain against the three nocent ceremonies, *Pater Noster*, *Gloria Patri*, and kneeling in the pulpit."[62]

The expression "nocent" or hurtful ceremony was one which had been employed in England at an early stage of the Puritan movement.

Dr Morton, bishop in succession of Chester, Lichfield, and Durham, had in 1619 sent forth a "Defence of the Innocencie of the three Ceremonies of the Church of England—viz., the Surplice, the Crosse after Baptisme, and Kneeling at the receiving of the blessed Sacrament." He met with a formidable antagonist in Dr William Ames, Puritan divine, controversialist, and casuist, who, when a Cambridge student, had been in trouble for refusing to wear a surplice in the college chapel.[63] Dr Morton was also answered from across the Border by David Calderwood, who in two successive years

[62] "The matter of our novations is worse than before. . . . Mr Gabriel Maxwell [of Dundonald], by the consent of some others, Mr J. Neve [John Nevay of Loudon or Newmills], Mr M. Mowat [Matthew Mowat of Kilmarnock], Mr W. Adair [William Adair of Ayr], Mr W. Cobroune [William Cockburn of Kirkmichael], Mr G. Hutchesone [George Hutchison of Colmonell, afterwards Edinburgh], and Mr W. Fullartoun [William Fullerton of St Quivox], did wryte in fyve sheets of paper, a full treatise, in a verie bitter and arrogant straine, against the three nocent ceremonies, *Pater Noster*, *Gloria Patri*, and kneeling in the pulpit."—'Letters,' &c., vol. ii. p. 69.

[63] "The reverend and learned Dr William Ames, one of the most acute controversial writers of his age, settled with the English Church at the Hague, . . . . from whence he was invited by the states of Fricsland to the divinity chair in the University of Hancker, which he filled with universal reputation for 12 years. . . . After 12 years, Dr Ames resigned his professorship, and accepted of an invitation to the English congregation at Rotterdam. . . . Upon his removal to Rotterdam, he wrote his 'Fresh Suit against Ceremonies.'" —Neal, 'Hist. of the Puritans,' part ii. chaps. i. v., vol. i. pp. 420, 572, 573 n., of Tegg's ed. Amesius is best known to Scottish theological students through his 'Medulla Theologiæ.'

(1622, 1623) published replies to both the general and the particular defence of the Anglican prelate.[64]

The attitude and action of the seven innovating ministers, who made saying the Lord's Prayer, singing the Doxology, and kneeling in the pulpit for prayer their three nocent ceremonies, caused the Glasgow professor a good deal of anxiety and trouble, and led him to busy himself in endeavouring to get such men as Rutherfurd, Gillespie, Dickson, and Calderwood to draw up answers to the paper of the innovators, and thus "sett all instruments on work for the quenching of that fyre."[65]

When the Assembly at Westminster came to deal with the practices objected to, the only one explicitly mentioned in the Directory is the offering of the Lord's Prayer, which, as has already been pointed out, is "recommended to be used in the prayers of the Church." No mention is made of the private devotions of ministers in the pulpit or of singing the Doxology, either in the Directory rubrics or in the preface. From Gillespie's 'Notes of Debates and Proceedings,' however, we learn that at a certain stage of the discussion as to what should find a place in the book, it was proposed to insert a statement of abuses "to be condemned, as Wakes, &c." The proposal was resisted by Gillespie on the ground that, if English abuses were to be specified, then the Church of Scotland would claim an enumeration of abuses peculiar to

[64] 1. "A Reply to Dr Morton's generall Defence of three nocent Ceremonies—viz., the Surplice, Crosse in Baptisme, and Kneeling at the receiving of the Sacramental Elements of Bread and Wine:" 1622. 2. "A Reply to Dr Morton's particular Defence of three Nocent Ceremonies:" 1623.—'Lives of Scot. Writers.' By David Irving, LL.D. 2 vols. Edinb.: 1839. Vol. i. p. 306.

[65] 'Letters,' &c., vol. ii. pp. 70-71. "My colleague, Mr D. Dickson, hath written alreadie verie good and solid answers to all they say; and did so farr prevaill in one conferrence with Mr William Adair [of Ayr], the chief of them for preaching, that he conformed with us the other day openlie in our Church to all the three nocent ceremonies. We hope God will help us to gett our brither satisffied, and by them our people."—Ibid.

that kingdom, and he did not think it "fit to make public in both kingdoms what is proper to either."[66] Ultimately, it was agreed to send up a separate paper to Parliament containing a list of such abuses.

Interesting light would seem to be thrown upon this document by a loose paper in Gillespie's writing preserved by Wodrow, and printed among the "Notes" of the former. On the one side of the MS. is an incomplete list of eight practices or ceremonies, beginning with "*Gloria Patri*," and breaking off with "The people's responsals."[67] On the other side is a statement "concerning other customs or rites in the worship of God formerly received in any of the kingdoms," to the effect that, "though not condemned in this Directory," yet if "they have been, or apparently will be, occasions of divisions and offences," it is judged "most expedient that the practice and use of them be not continued, as well for the nearer uniformity betwixt the Churches of both kingdoms, as for their greater peace and harmony within themselves, and their edifying one another in love."[68]

If, as appears likely, the list on the one side of this paper consists of an unfinished enumeration of "customs or rites"

[66] "December 30 [1644].—There were many abuses spoken of to be condemned in the Directory, as Wakes, &c. I said, If these be put in the Directory, the Church of Scotland must put in abuses among them in the Directory too, and it is not fit to make public in both kingdoms what is proper to either. So it was agreed to send up this in a paper by itself to the Parliament."—'Notes of the Debates and Proceedings,' &c. Edinb.: 1846. P. 97.

[67] "*On the backside. Gloria Patri.* Saying the Creed. Standing up at the reading of the Gospel. Preaching on Christmas. Funeral sermons. Churching of women, &c. The saying of the three Creeds, after reading of Scripture. The people's responsals. And, ."—Ibid., p. 108.

[68] "*On the foreside.*" The statement concludes with these two sentences: "Wherein we would be so understood as not having the least thought to discredit or blame our worthy Reformers, or others who have since practised them. Only we hold forth what we have learned from the rules of Christ and His Apostles, that even those of the learned and godly, who satisfy their own judgments concerning the lawfulness of those customs, shall henceforth do well to abstain for the law of love, and for the bond of peace."—Ibid.

spoken of on the other, then it is probable the latter was drafted as a proposed, but not accepted, addition to the preface as it now stands. In that case the Doxology, along with the Creed, standing up at the reading of the Gospel, preaching on Christmas, funeral sermons, churching of women, saying the three Creeds after reading of Scripture, and congregational responses, will rank among practices "not condemned in this Directory," but the observance of which Gillespie and his fellow-commissioners judged it expedient to be discontinued in the interests of uniformity, peace, harmony, and mutual edifying in love.[69]

When the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland required to pronounce judgment upon these so-called nocent ceremonies in relation to the contents of the Directory, a different line of procedure was taken in the case of all the three.

The recommendation that the Lord's Prayer be used in public worship was accepted in Scotland without note or comment. The practice of ministerial kneeling for prayer in the pulpit, neither permitted nor prohibited in the Directory, was made the subject of one of the four articles of committee drawn up in 1645, forming virtually a declaratory statement appended to the Act of Assembly approving of and sanctioning the use of the new Service-book. The fourth article in that statement is in these words: "It is also the judgement of the committee, that the ministers bowing in the pulpit, though a lawful custome in this Kirk, be hereafter laid aside,

[69] Dr Leishman, who gives Gillespie's paper in his Appendix, regards the first part of it as "an endorsement descriptive of the second." What in his judgment renders it "probable that the second was intended to be part of the Preface is, that Christmas sermons are included among the things not condemned;" "when the Preface was passed, the Appendix concerning holy days—which undoubtedly condemns the observance of Christmas[1]—had not yet been drawn up nor thought of."—Reprint of Directory, *ut sup.*, pp. 326, 327.

[1] "Festival Days, vulgarly called Holy-days, having no Warrant in the Word of God, are not to be continued."—'An Appendix touching Days and Places for Public Worship.'

for satisfaction of the desires of the reverend Divines in the Synod of England, and for uniformity with that Kirk, so much endeared to us." [70]

The third practice—that of singing the Doxology—was keenly discussed in the Assembly of 1645, and the proposal was mooted to lay it aside, as also the repeating of the Lord's Prayer. In the discussion about the former, Calderwood, the historian, took a prominent part, adducing quotations from the writings of early fathers and from the canons of Councils to prove that this form of praise was in use from the days of the apostles. Gillespie questioned the correctness of his inference from a canon which he cited.[71] It was at this Assembly that Calderwood made the statement that has often been quoted, though not without an error of date and inaccuracy of statement,—"Moderator, I intreat that the doxologie be not laid aside, for I hope to sing it in heaven;" or, according to another and more pithy version, "Let that alone, for I hope to sing it in glory." [72] The decision come to was, according to Gillespie, "to make no Act about this, as there is made about bowing in the pulpit, but to let desuetude

[70] 'Acts,' &c., *ut sup.*, 1645, p. 121. Dr Leishman's Reprint, Introd., p. 268.

[71] "February 8 [1645].—Concerning *Gloria Patri*, Mr D. Calderwood cited *Basilius ad Amphilochium*, saying, That hymn was used from the days of the apostles, only the Council of Nice added these words, 'As it was in the beginning,' against the Arians. He cited also a canon of *Conc. Tolet.* 4, against some who would not sing any songs made by men—viz., by Ambrose and Hilarius—the canon objects, Why, then, sing they *Gloria Patri?* So that, as precise as they were, they sung that song. But the canon saith, *Respuunt igitur*, which imports they did not sing that song. It was thought good to make no Act about this, as there is made about bowing in the pulpit, but to let desuetude abolish it."—'Notes,' *ut sup.*, p. [120].

[72] The first version of Calderwood's saying is that given in 'The Doxology approven, or the saying, Glory to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in the worship of God; its lawfulness and expediency proven from the Holy Scriptures, Councils, and Fathers, and the scruples of the weak thereanent cleared:' 1683. By the Rev. Robert Edward. [See note 74.] The other version is that given in a pamphlet having for title, 'Dialogue between a Presbyterian Minister,' &c., 1704, p. 39, quoted by Dr Leishman in Reprint of Directory, p. 339.

abolish it." It is, however, very doubtful if the desuetude was ever so complete as was intended and expected. Some sixteen years later the great English naturalist, John Ray, spent the summer of 1661 in Scotland. On one of the Sundays of his itinerary he worshipped in the parish church of Dunbar, and this is his entry for that day: "They had at our being there two ministers; they sung their *Gloria Patri* at the end of the Psalm after sermon, as had been ordered by the Parliament, in these words:—

> "Glore to the Father and the Sonne
> And to the Holy Gheast:
> As it was in the beginning,
> Is now, and aye doth last."[73]

What the English botanist heard sung that day is substantially the third doxology in the Scottish Metrical Psalter of 1635; and we may suppose that it needed not the order of Parliament of which Ray makes mention to lead the congregation of Dunbar to conclude their praise with a formula familiar to the people of Scotland for at least twenty-six years.

Then, somewhere about 1656, Robert Edward was admitted minister at Murrois, or Murroes, formerly Muirhouse, in the presbytery of Dundee.[74] In 1683 this conforming incumbent published a small treatise of 102 pages to which he gave the title of 'The Doxology Approven.' His object, as stated in "The Epistle Dedicatory," is, "as a compassionate Mem-

[73] 'Memorials of John Ray, &c. With his Itineraries.' Ray Society. London: 1846. P. 154. In that same year (1661) mention is made in the Scottish newspaper of the period—the 'Mercurius Caledonius'—of a minister who, preaching before Parliament on the 27th January, "restored us to *Glory to the Father*, to be sung at the end of the Psalmes—a great stranger to our Kirk these many years."—Quoted by Dr D. Laing, Baillie's 'Letters,' &c., vol. iii. p. 529.

[74] "Presb. of Dundee. Murroes, formerly Muirhouse. 1656. ROBERT EDWARD, a native of Dundee, adm. previous to 26th May 1656, pres. by Patrick, Earl of Panmure ——, died at Edinburgh, 23d March 1696."—Dr Scott's 'Fasti Eccles. Scot.,' vol. iii., part ii. Synods of Aberdeen and Angus and Mearns, p. 728.

ber of the Mystical Body of Jesus, the least of the sons of Levi, whom the Holy Ghost hath made Overseer of a part of the Flock of God," to write "for information of the Judgment of the weak Lambs of the Chief Shepherd, who, being unskilful in the word of Righteousness, refuse to sing the Doxology, because of their Doubts and Scruples." The value of the work of this royalist and Erastian is diminished by blunders into which he falls regarding the General Assembly by which the Doxology was discussed, mistaking, as he does, that of 1649 for 1645, and arguing against a figment of his own creation, which he styles "the Grand Objection, to wit, That the singing of the Doxology in the publick worship of God was laid aside by the Generall Assembly of this Church, *Anno Dom.* 1649."[75] But these inaccuracies of Edward do not neutralise the value of a statement which occurs in his "Preface to the Christian Reader," and which gives ground for believing that, as there were those towards the close of the seventeenth century who sympathised with the yeomen of Kilwinning in their dislike and disuse of it, so there were those who "sang the Doxology decently." The minister of Murroes, selecting the refusing to sing the Doxology in the public worship of God as one "sad and unchristianlike Rent" in the Church, goes on to state:—

"In one parish-church you may hear the Doxology christianly sung, but in the next parish-church no mention of it, nor in the wandering conventicle at the hillside or in the Den, they have gone from Mountain to Hill, they have forgotten their resting-place and have forgotten the Doxology, as if they were all Anti-trinitarians, Jews, Turks, or Pagans, yea, and too often in the same Church-Assembly, both in city and country, when it comes to the closing of the Psalm, some sing the Doxology decently, others sitting by who did sing the Psalm instantly turn silent at the Doxology, yea, some are worse, deriding and scoffing the singers of it; this among Christians is a lamentation, and shall

[75] Chap. xi. p. 64. A copy of this scarce book is in the Library of the New College, Edinburgh.

be for a lamentation. Tell it not in Gath, but (no doubt) it is proclaimed at Rome long ago, who rejoice in our halting, and say, aha, aha, our eye hath seen."

Other two historical references will bring the use of the Doxology within measurable distance of our own times.

*First*, In 1685 or 1686, Patrick Simson, the outed minister of Renfrew, made an attempt to enlarge Scottish psalmody by adding to the new Psalter what he termed "Spiritual Songs or Holy Poems." At the end of the sixth book he placed "Some short Scripture Doxologies by way of Conclusion to the whole." This collection, although it never received the formal sanction of the General Assembly, was so favourably regarded that presbyteries were recommended by the Assembly of 1706 to buy up copies "for facilitating the Assembly's work in preparing the Songs for public use, and to promote the use of them in private families."[76]

*Second*, The edition of the Paraphrases, "collected and prepared by a Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in order to be sung in churches," and issued in 1781, contained, as noted in the advertisement, "a few Hymns subjoined." Of these the fourth in order is taken, in somewhat altered form, from the Hymn Book of Dr Isaac Watts. The hymn in its original English form consists of five verses; but when it appears as part of the tiny Scottish selection it has six, the sixth being a doxology taken from the "New Version of the Psalms" by Tate and Brady, published in 1696.

> "To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
> the God whom we adore,
> Be glory, as it was, and is,
> and shall be evermore."[77]

The parliamentary programme of work to be done by

[76] "*Sess.* 4, *April* 8, 1706, *ante meridiem.* Act and Recommendation concerning the Scripture Songs."—'Acts,' *ut sup.*, pp. 392, 393.

[77] 'The Scottish Paraphrases,' &c. By D. J. Maclagan. Edinb.: 1889. P. 165.

the Assembly or Synod of Divines sitting at Westminster included the sanctioning of a new metrical version of the Psalter as well as a new Book of Common Order. Accordingly the Assembly had not been five months in session before the following order was issued by the English House of Commons: "That the Assembly of Divines be desired to give their advice, whether it may not be useful and profitable to the Church, that the Psalms set forth by Mr Rous be permitted to be publickly sung, the same being read before singing, until the Books be more generally dispersed." [78]

Francis Rous or Rouse, a native of Cornwall and an Oxford student, Calvinistic in doctrine and Presbyterian in his views of Church government, was more than once returned to Parliament as member for Truro, proving himself a staunch supporter of the Cromwell party in the State. When lay commissioners were appointed to join the Westminster gathering, the member for Truro was one of their number. Thereafter the lucrative appointment of Provost of Eton College was conferred upon him, and retained till his death in 1658.[79] With parliamentary, ecclesiastical, and academic duties to occupy him, Mr Rous, nevertheless, found time to compose a metrical version of the Psalms, giving the results of his labours to the public in 1643 in a diminutive but neatly printed volume with this for title, 'The Psalmes of David in English Meeter, set forth by Francis Rous." [80]

[78] 'Journals of the House of Commons,' vol. iii. p. 315.

[79] "Francis Rous . . . shew'd himself with great Zeal an Enemy to the Bishops, Prerogative, and what not, to gain the Populacy, a Name, and some hopes of Wealth *which was dear unto him.*"—Anthony Wood's 'Athenæ Oxoniensis,' vol. ii. p. 231. London, folio ed., MDCCXXI. The italicised paragraph may explain what Mr Holland is at a loss to account for—viz., the application to the Provost of Eton College by one of his contemporaries of the contemptuous phrase, "old illiterate Jew of Eton."—Holland's 'Psalmists of Britain,' vol. ii. p. 36. In comparison with the "ever memorable" Hales, who was expelled from his fellowship of Eton for not swearing to the Engagement, Rous may have been disparaged as "illiterate."

[80] "London, Printed by James Young, for Philip Nevill, at the signe of the Gun in Ivie-Lane, 1643." "Aprill 17, 1643.—It is this day ordered by the

Immediately on receiving the order of the House of Commons the occupants of the Jerusalem Chamber took action, appointing a committee who went carefully over the work, and had frequent conferences with the translator. Toward the close of 1645 the work of revision and alteration was completed. On the 14th of November in that year, a deputation appeared at the door of the House of Commons, and being called in reported, "That according to a former Order of this House they had perused the Psalms set out by Mr Rouse; and, as they are now altered and amended, do conceive they may be useful to the Church."[81]

Having passed through the necessary scrutiny and received the requisite sanction, the Rous version was republished in 1646; and an order passed the House of Commons in April of that year, "That the Book of Psalms, set forth by Mr Rous, and perused by the Assembly of Divines, be forthwith printed in sundry volumes. And that the said Psalms, and none other, shall, after the first day of January next, be sung

Committee of the House of Commons in Parliament for printing, that this Book, entitled, *The Psalmes of David*, &c. (according to the desires of many reverend Ministers) be published for the generall use: And for the true correcting of it, be printed by these the Author shall appoint. *John White.*

I do appoint *Philip Nevill* and *Peter Whaley* to print these Psalmes.

*Francis Rous.*"

Quoted by Dr D. Laing, Baillie's 'Letters,' &c., vol. iii. p. 533. This disposes of Wood's blunders, who first gives "1646, Oct.," as the date of publication, and then states, "This Translation, tho' ordered by the H. of Commons to be printed 4 Nov. 1645, yet, if I am not mistaken, all or most of it was printed in 1641" ('Athenæ Oxoniensis,' *ut sup.*); also of Holland's, who finds the remarkable in the statement that no writer on Psalmody speaks as having ever seen a copy of the Rouse version, or states where one is to be found [Dr Laing had stated, a year before the Englishman's work appeared, that a copy of this rare edition was in the possession of Lea Wilson, Esq., Norwood Hill, Surrey]; and the curious in the allegation "that Rouse's book has hitherto been so far from ever being identified with its real author, that it is always either spoken of as anonymous, or is attributed to the Printer." To these blunders John Holland adds a confession of culpable ignorance: "I am not aware of the existence of any copy with the name of Rouse in the title-page."—'The Psalmists of Britain,' vol. ii. pp. 34, 35.

[81] Baillie's 'Letters,' &c., vol. iii. pp. 537, 538.

in all Churches and Chapels within the Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick-upon-Tweede." [82]

From the first the Scottish Commissioners took kindly to the proposal for a new version of the Psalms in metre. Writing to the Commission of the General Assembly in February 1646-47, three of them expressed the conviction, "One Psalme-book in the three Kingdomes will be a considerable part of Uniformity, if it can be fullie agreed upon both there and here;" and they were candid enough to admit, "We believe it is generally acknowledged, there is a necessitie of some change, there being so many just exceptions against the old and usuall Paraphrase" [Translation].[83] As was natural, some of them had a preference for the compositions of native versifiers. Baillie, for example, was partial to a version never published, that of Sir William Mure of Rowallane in Ayrshire;[84] but even he thought well and wrote kindly of Rous as "an old, most honest member of the House of Commons," and as amending "the old Psalter" where faulty.[85] When from time to time parcels of the Psalms in draft went to Scotland for "animadversions and approbation," Baillie had ever a good word to say of the version. At one time he is certain "these

[82] Ibid., p. 539.

[83] Ibid., p. 541. Also 'The Records of the Commissions of the Gen. Assemb. of the Ch. of Scot. 1646 and 1647.' Edited by Dr Mitchell and Dr Christie. *Scot. Hist. Society.* 1892. Pp. 209, 210. The letter is signed by G. Wynrame, Samuel Rutherfurd, Geo. Gillespie; it is dated Worcester House, the 16th of Febr. 164$\frac{7}{8}$; and it is addressed "Direct: For the Right Reverend the Commissioners of the Gen. Assembly, mett at Edr."

[84] "Mr Nye did speak much against a tie to anie Psalter, and something against the singing of paraphrases [Translations], as of preaching of homilies. We underhand will mightilie oppose it; for the Psalter is a great part of our uniformitie. . . . I wish I had Rowallen's Psalter here; for I like it much better than anie yet I have seen."—Baillie in 1643. 'Letters,' &c., vol. ii. p. 121. For information regarding Sir William Mure, and specimens of his version, see Holland's 'Psalmists of Britain,' vol. ii. pp. 43-49; Baillie's 'Letters,' &c., vol. iii. pp. 535, 536; and 'History of the County of Ayr and Families of Ayrshire.' By James Paterson. Vol. ii. 1852. "Parish of Kilmarnock. Mures of Rowallen," pp. 182-195.

[85] 'Letters,' &c., vol. ii. p. 120.

new Psalmes will be a great deal better than the old;"[86] at another, when "the Psalms are perfyted," they are declared to be "the best without all doubt that ever yet were extant."[87] As one who had been accustomed to kneel in the pulpit and to sing the Doxology, Baillie would fain have retained both practices under the new ritual. He found, however, feeling running so strong against the former, because of its association with the bowing to the east and the altar by the High Church party, that it was useless to attempt retaining it; and in the case of the *Gloria Patri*, although Independents and Presbyterians alike were in the habit of singing it, "where it was printed at the end of two or three psalms," yet he was willing the new metrical Psalter should appear, as the English Puritans desired it should, without the conclusion, thus keeping "punctually to the original text, without any addition," all the more when it was seen "both the Popish and Prelaticall party did so much dote as to put it to the end of the most of their lessons, and all their psalms."[88]

Nothing, however, could be done to bring the new version into use in Scotland until it had received the imprimatur of the Church authorities of the northern kingdom. So soon as

[86] "We have sent doun the last fifty of the Psalmes; we wish they may be well examined there, that we may have your animadversions and approbation: doubtless these new Psalmes will be a great deal better than the old." [Publick Letter.] "For Glasgow."—Ibid., p. 286.

[87] Ibid. "Publick Letter, November 25, 1645." Baillie adds: "They are on the presse; but not to be perused till they be sent to yow, and your animadversions returned hither, which we wish were so soon as might be."—P. 326.

[88] "For Bowing in the pulpitt, whether by custome, or because of the late consequent abuse of it by the Prelaticall party to bow to the east and the altar, it wes universallie, by all sorts of men, so unanimouslie disused, that we were not able to make them alter. . . . Also about the Conclusion of the Psalme, we had no debate with them; without scruple, Independents and all sang it, so farr as I know, where it was printed at the end of two or three psalmes. But in the new translation of the Psalmes, resolving to keep punctuallie to the originall text, without any addition, we and they were content to omitt that, whereupon we saw both the Popish and Prelaticall partie did so much dote, as to put it to the end of the most of their lessons, and all their psalmes."—Ibid., pp. 258, 259.

copies reached the country in sufficient quantities, the work of examination and amendment was actively set about and vigorously prosecuted. Individual ministers credited with poetic feeling and musical taste had portions of the work assigned them for revision; draft copies were despatched to several leading presbyteries with injunctions to report suggestions to the Commission of Assembly; which, in turn, constituted certain of its number a committee for receiving proposed alterations, and for conferring with those who made them.[89] So protracted was the work of examination and so numerous were the suggested amendments, that it was only in the penultimate month of 1649 that a judicial finding was reached, and a legal sanction given to the new version. On the 23d November of that year, the Commission, duly authorised by the Assembly to pronounce a deliverance, "having with great diligence considered the Paraphrase of the Psalms in Meter, sent from the Assembly of Divines in England by our Commissioners, whilst they were there, as it is corrected by former Generall Assemblies, Committees from them, and now at last by the Brethren deputed by the late Assembly for that purpose: And having exactly examined the same, doe approve the said Paraphrase, as it is now compiled: And therefore, according to the power given them by the said Assembly, doe appoint it to be printed and published for publik use: Here by authorizing the same to be the only Paraphrase of the Psalmes of David to be sung in the Kirk of Scotland; and discharging the old Paraphrase and any other than this new Paraphrase, to be made use of in any congregation or family after the first day of Maij in the year 1650."[90]

[89] 'Acts,' &c., p. 159. "*Sess.* 25, *Aug.* 28, 1647, p.m.—Act for Revising the Paraphrase of the Psalmes brought from England, with a Recommendation for Translating the other Scripturall Songs in Meeter." For further details see Baillie's 'Letters,' &c., vol. iii. pp. 543-548. Also 'General Assembly Commission Records,' 1646 and 1647, *ut sup.* Index, *sub voce* "*Paraphrase of the Psalms*, Rouse's."

[90] Baillie, *ut sup.*, p. 548. Act for Establishing and Authorizing the new Psalms.

All that remained to be secured was the approval of the civil authorities. That was granted on the 8th January 1650, when, "The Committee of Estates having considered the English Paraphrase of the Psalms of David in Meeter, presented this day unto them by the Commission of the General Assembly, together with their Act and the Act of the late Assembly, approving the said Paraphrase, and appointing the same to be sung through this Kirk. Therefore, the Committee doth also approve the said Paraphrase, and interpone their authority for the publishing and practising thereof; hereby ordaining the same and no other to be made use of throughout this Kingdom." [91]

And now, what one of the Westminster Commissioners justly styles "that oft corrected Psalter," issued from the Edinburgh press of the same King's printer as had given to Scotland the Directory five years earlier, bearing the title: "THE PSALMS OF DAVID in Meeter: Newly translated, and diligently compared with the Original Text and former Translations: More plain, smooth, and agreeable to the Text than any heretofore. Allowed by the authority of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, and appointed to be sung in Congregations and Families." [92]

The great pains taken by the Scottish revisionist to render the English version more simple and more faithful to the original, with the numerous alterations which this resulted

[91] Ibid., pp. 548, 549.

[92] "Edinburgh: Printed by Evan Tyler, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1650." Small 8vo, pp. 15 and 308. Prefixed are the Acts of the General Assembly, 6th Aug., of the Assembly's Commission, 23d Nov. 1649, and of the Committee of Estates, 8th Jan. 1650. Telling of the capture of "that excomunicat traitour James Grahame, sumtyme Erle of Montrois," and the appointment of a day of thanksgiving for the same, "quhilk wes obeyit, and began heir in Lothiane, and keipit in all the kirkis of Edinburgh, and about, upone the fyftene day of May 1650," Nicoll associates therewith the introduction of the new Psalter into Scotland. "At quhilk day and tyme, the new Psalme buikis wer red and ordanit to be sung throw all the kingdome." —John Nicoll's 'Diary' (Bannatyne Club), p. 11.

in, can only be estimated by one who compares the contents of the London edition of 1646 with those of the Edinburgh one of 1650, psalm by psalm. Taking a general view, there are cases in which the rendering of the former is unaltered in the latter; there are others in which the variations are the result of mere substitution or transposition of words; and some besides in which the alteration is not merely verbal, but extends to both matter and form.

That the present version of 1650 is really distinct from Rous's revised version of 1646, and has a decidedly Scottish Reformation complexion, will appear still more clearly if we quote the sentences of one who has made an intelligent study of Presbyterian worship:—

"In many of its best features," writes Dr Bannerman of Perth, "the Scottish Psalter [of 1650] goes back to the Reformation period. The Psalms which have the strongest hold on Scottish hearts, and which are linked with the most stirring scenes in our history, belong for the most part to the days of Knox. Thus, for example, the 100th Psalm, 'All people that on earth do dwell,' was written by William Keith, a Scottish exile in the reign of Queen Mary, and one of the translators of the Geneva Bible. The old 124th, 'Now Israel may say, and that truly,' was composed by Whittingham, the brother-in-law of Calvin, who succeeded John Knox in the English pulpit at Geneva, and was afterwards Dean of Durham. The author of the 'Second Versions' of Psalms 102, 136, 143, and 145 was John Craig, once a Dominican monk at Bologna, afterwards one of Knox's most trusted friends, who died minister of Holyrood and of the King's household."[93]

It is a remark of John Holland, the biographer of "The Psalmists of Britain," that "the Kirk of Scotland has always

[93] 'The Worship of the Presbyterian Church,' chap. iii. pp. 35, 36. "The same," adds Dr Bannerman, "is true of many of the best and most popular of our Psalm tunes. They go back to the Reformation Church Psalters. Thus, *e.gr.*, the three melodies named by Robert Burns in the 'Cottar's Saturday Night' are 'Martyrs,' 'Elgin,' and 'Dundee.' They were the Psalm tunes commonly used by his father in family worship. And they belong, all three, to the days of Knox and Melville."

manifested a remarkably strong indisposition to innovate in the matter of Psalmody."[94] The remark would seem to be corroborated and illustrated by the history of the seventeenth-century version presently in use in Scotland.

Leaving out of view variations in orthography, that version, "approved" by the Westminster Synod, "allowed" by the General Assembly, and "appointed" to be sung in churches, has remained unaltered for wellnigh two centuries and a half. Whatever has been done during that time by the Presbyterians of Scotland in the way of adding to the psalmody Spiritual Songs, Paraphrases, and Hymns, "The Psalms of David in Metre" have retained their place as furnishing the staple of praise in that particular rendering furnished by the Scottish revisionists of the Englishman's labours. The forecast of Baillie has thus been strikingly verified so far as the northern kingdom is concerned—"These lines are likely to go up to God from many millions of tongues for many generations."[95]

By their loyal but ill-requited adherence to Charles II., whom they proclaimed king immediately after the execution of his father, and whom they crowned at Scone on the 1st of January 1651, thus involving themselves in a sea of confusions by, in the forcible language of Carlyle, "soldering Christ's Crown to Charles Stuart's,"[96] the Covenanting people of Scotland brought themselves under the rule of Oliver Cromwell. For nine years that strong-minded, strong-of-hand Puritan held the kingdom, as a conquered province, under his protectorate.

[94] 'The Psalmists of Britain,' vol. i., Introd., p. 57.

[95] 'Letters,' &c., vol. ii. p. 332. "For Mr Robert Dowglass." Douglas was one of the ministers of Ediuburgh, and was, after Henderson's death in 1646, the ecclesiastical leader of the Church of Scotland. At the outset of the same letter, written in 1645, Baillie remarks: "One very sensible point of the Reformation here, and almost the only thing which requires reformation in our Church, is the Psalme Book."—P. 331.

[96] 'Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches.' "Letters CL.-CLXI.," vol. ii. p. 220 of three-vol. ed., 1857.

To the Church of Scotland there could not fail to be what was distasteful in the Commonwealth government.

Thus under Cromwell Scotland was obliged to submit to not a little lay preaching. Services were conducted in Edinburgh pulpits not only by English ministers, but by commanders, captains, lieutenants, and troopers, who tramped into the pulpit carrying sword and pistol, which they laid aside before commencing to discourse, and resumed when finished. Of these lay sermonisers, General Lambert, "who had got some tincture of Law and other learning, and did not want for brain," [97] considered himself to have so clear a call to exercise his preaching gift, that he asked and secured from the Town Council of Edinburgh the Church of St Giles—at that time reckoned the best in town—in which were delivered "divers and sundry sermons." [98] The Presbyterian hearers of these militant preachers did not presume to doubt they were "well gifted"; their fundamental objection to them was that they were "not orderly called, according to the discipline observed within this kingdom of Scotland." [99]

More hard to bear, however, than being required to listen to lay preaching, was the silencing of the General Assembly, which took place upon the 20th of July 1653.[100] Notwithstanding this drastic measure, accounted for, if not rendered necessary, by the virulence of the ecclesiastical strifes of the day, it cannot be said the worship of the Scottish Church was materially interfered with, or that her office-bearers were prevented taking such measures as they deemed desirable for the proper and profitable rendering thereof.

What freedom was enjoyed and what action was taken

[97] Carlyle, *ut sup.*, "Army Manifesto," vol. i. pp. 227, 228.

[98] Nicoll's 'Diary,' *ut sup.*, pp. 68, 69.

[99] Ibid., p. 69.

[100] A graphic account of the silencing and ejecting, carried out under "Lieutenant-Colonell Cotterall," who surrounded the church "with some rattes [files] of musqueteirs and a troup of horse," is given by Baillie in a letter "For his Reverend and Dear Brother Mr Calamy, Minister at London," dated "Glasgow, 27th July 1653."—'Letters,' &c., vol. iii. pp. 225, 226.

may be seen from the following instances of ecclesiastical arrangements for divine service during the Commonwealth *régime.*

In 1650 the Edinburgh ministers, apprehending that the discontinuance of the week-day morning and evening prayers with reading of Scripture was injuriously affecting the morals of the citizens, instituted a daily lecture, each minister officiating in turn,—"which accordingly was put in practice," writes John Nicoll, the Edinburgh diarist, "and so began this holy and heavenly exercise upon Monday, the 18th day of March 1650." [101]

Then the Assembly immediately preceding the one forcibly closed by Cromwell's officer, with his files of musketeers and troop of horse, issued three Acts bearing upon the "promoting the knowledge of the grounds of salvation, and observing the rules of discipline." In terms of the first of these Acts every minister was called upon so to "dispose of the time appointed for the reading of Scripture, as both the order of the Directory, and Act of Uniformity, in the point of lecture, may be observed; that two chapters being read, one of the Old Testament and the other of the New, after reading of the first, some few observations of the chief doctrines being held forth, and propounded briefly and plainly to the people, time may be left to read the second chapter, and to give some brief observation on it also, as the time allowed will suffer." [102]

Further, shortly after the silencing of the Assembly it came to the knowledge of the city ministers that many of

[101] "In steid of evening and morning prayeris, the ministeris, taking to thair consideratioun that the not reiding and exponing of the Scriptures, at the old accustumat tyme of prayer, was the occasioun of much drinking at that seasoun quhen these prayeris and chaptures wer usuallie red, thairfoir, and to prevent that sin, it wes concludit, in the begynning of Marche 1650, that al the dayis of the week a lectorie sould be red and exponit in Edinburgh be everie minister thair, *per vices.*"—Nicoll's 'Diary,' *ut sup.*, p. 5.

[102] 'Acts,' &c., Appendix No. I., p. 1151.

their people were dissatisfied because, ever since the discharging of the office of common reader, there was no reading of chapters nor singing of psalms on the Sabbath-day, but in place thereof a system of lecturing. To allay this discontent it was thought "good to restore the wonted custom of singing of psalms, as also the exercise of the Catechism," the latter to be carried into effect by causing two boys every Sunday, at both the forenoon and the afternoon service, to be examined publicly and to read the Catechism, this to go on during the time between the ringing of the second and the third bell, for the edification of the people.[103]

Not finding the public catechising of boys practicable or profitable, the Presbytery of Edinburgh had recourse in 1656 to another method, to which was given the name of "Teaching upon the Catechism." On the 7th day of September, "being Sonday," the ministers of Edinburgh and the whole Presbytery of Lothian, "after the discharging of reading the Scripture by the Readers in Churches, and reading of the Catechism by boys," began "this order of teaching upon the Catechism in the Kirks of Edinburgh." [104]

Even these modifications of the Directory ritual did not satisfy all parties, some desiring a return to the old institution of the reader and a discontinuance of the lecture; and so, in the summer of 1658, the reading of Scripture by "the common reader was reintroduced in the Church of Leith." [105]

[103] "It wald be rememberit that, in the yeir of God 1645, the reiding of chapteris in the kirk by the commoun reidar, and singing of psalmes wer dischargit, and in place thairof come in the lectureis, quhilk indured till the incuming of the Englische airmy. This did not content the pepill, because thair wes no reiding of chapteris nor singing of psalmes on the Saboth day."—Nicoll's 'Diary,' *ut sup.*, pp. 114, 115.

[104] Ibid., p. 184.

[105] "Albeit throw the haill natioun, the reiding of the Scriptures in the church by the Reidar was dischargit, in place quhairof the lecturie wes exerceised; yit in sindrie pairtes of [the] cuntrie the reiding oppinlie in the church did begin agane, and red by the commoun reidar, namelie, in the church of Leith begynnand in Junij 1658."—Nicoll, *ut sup.*, p. 215.

Subsequent to the death of Cromwell in 1658, and consequent upon the recall of the Stuarts in 1660, Scotland entered upon a new and dark chapter of her history—one which lasted through the reigns of Charles II. and James VII., only terminating with the Revolution of 1688. Every tyro in Scottish history has some idea of the trouble which these twenty-eight years brought to the Church of the Burning Bush, so the story of her wrongs and her sufferings need not be here repeated.

Charles II. soon gave it to be known what line of policy he intended to follow in relation to Scottish affairs generally, and those of the Church in particular. By an Act Rescissory, rescinding and annulling all statutes passed in the Parliament of 1640 and subsequently, there was virtually swept away the Presbyterian polity of the Church of Scotland, and the legislation favouring Episcopacy was revived.[106] This was followed up by an "Act concerning religion and Church government," in which "our sovereign lord" declares "that it is his full and firm resolution to maintain the true Reformed Protestant religion, in its purity of doctrine and worship, as it was established within this kingdom, during the reigns of his royal father and grandfather of blessed memory," and that he is prepared to "give all due countenance and protection to the ministers of the Gospel, they containing themselves within the bounds and limits of their ministerial calling." In the matter of Church government the Act represents his Majesty as one who "will make it his care, to settle and secure the same, in such a frame as shall be most agreeable to the Word of God, *most suitable to monarchical government*, and most complying with the public peace and quiet of the kingdom." In

[106] "It 'rescinded' or cut off from the body of the law all the statutes passed in the Parliament of 1640 and subsequently. This withdrew from the statute-book all legislation later than the year 1633 [1638], for the Parliament of 1639 passed no statutes. Certainly no Act of the Scots Estates had ever accomplished so much as this."—Dr J. H. Burton, 'The Hist. of Scot.,' chap. lxxvii., "Restoration Settlement," vol. vii. p. 143 of sec. ed.

the meantime his Majesty is graciously pleased to "allow the present administration by sessions, presbyteries, and synods (they keeping within bounds and behaving themselves as said is), and that notwithstanding of the preceding Act, rescissory of all pretended Parliaments, since the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-eight."[107]

When he proceeded to carry out the subversion of Presbyterianism and the erection of Episcopacy, the course adopted by Charles II. was similar to that of his grandfather and father of questionable memories. The first thing to be done was to alter the government of the old Kirk of Scotland: that being accomplished, bishops and curates might, it was thought, be safely left to bring the ritual into conformity with the rule of Prelacy. Accordingly, two Scottish noblemen—Glencairn and Rothes—appeared before the Privy Council of Scotland, on the 5th of September 1661, bearers of a royal letter, in which it was stated that, having in August of last year declared an intention "to maintain the government of the Church of Scotland *settled by law*," and the Scottish Parliament having thereafter rescinded all legislation since the civil troubles began, and left his Majesty the settling and securing of Church government, therefore Charles R. had formed the firm resolution to interpose his royal authority "for restoring of this church to its right government by bishops, as it was before the late troubles."[108] Thereafter, through the exercise of the royal prerogative, an Episcopal bench was erected for Scotland by consecrations which took place, the earlier of them

[107] Wodrow's 'Hist. of the Sufferings of the Ch. of Scot.,' bk. i. chap ii. sect. i., vol. i. p. 102 of Dr Burns's ed. In 4 vols. Glasgow: 1828.

[108] "Given at our Court at Whitehall, August 14th, 1661, and of our reign the 13th year. By his Majesty's command. Lauderdale."—Wodrow's 'Hist.,' *ut sup.*, sect. vii. p. 230. The Episcopalian historian Prof. Grub freely admits that "to pretend that the repeal of the various statutes in favour of Presbyterianism, which was effected by the influence of the Crown, made Episcopacy the form of Church government *settled by law*, which he was now bound in terms of that letter to maintain, was a fraud and a delusion."—'Eccles. Hist.,' vol. iii. chap. lxii. pp. 185, 186.

in the Abbey of Westminster and the remainder in that of Holyrood.

It is needless to specify the numerous Acts of Parliament and proclamations of Privy Council, the pains, penalties, and persecutions by which, subsequent to 1662, when the Episcopal bench received its full complement of prelates, the attempt was made to force Episcopacy upon Presbyterian Scotland, and to compel the Covenanters to attend distasteful ministrations, and absent themselves from gatherings which were denounced as "seminaries of separation and rebellion."

Our present concern is with the worship of Scotland during those troublous years of coercion and dispersion. If we would rightly inform ourselves as to the conduct of divine service from Restoration to Revolution, it will be necessary to betake ourselves in succession to two quarters—to the parish churches under the charge of conforming incumbents, ministering to scanty and often disaffected audiences, and then to the open-air gatherings on the moors and hillsides, attended by hundreds and thousands who had sworn to be true to Christ, His Crown and Covenant, and who drank in the truth uttered by the lips of preachers outed and hunted, but whom they honoured, alike for their spirituality, their services, and their sacrifices.

Every one knows now what Sir Walter Scott did not know, or required to be reminded of after he had written 'Old Mortality,' that the Book of Common Prayer was not introduced into Scotland along with Episcopal government at the Restoration.[109] Neither was any attempt made to bring into

[109] "The second instance which goes to prove that the author's statements respecting the religious sentiments and customs of that period are not to be depended upon, relates to the use of the Book of Common Prayer. 'The young men-at-arms,' says he, 'were unable to avoid *listening to the prayers read in the churches on these occasions*, and thus, in the opinion of their repining parents, meddling with the accursed thing which is an abomination in the sight of the Lord.' . . . How, then, does the fact stand? Prayers were NOT *read* in the parish churches of Scotland at that time, any more than they were in the meeting-houses of the indulged, or in the conventicles of the stricter Presby-

use Laud's ill-fated Liturgy of 1637, there being no inclination on the part of Sharp and his associates to ride the ford where their predecessors had been swept away.[110]

Efforts were, however, made by individuals and by ecclesiastical bodies to modify the ritual of the Westminster Directory, so as to impart to it a liturgical complexion. Thus, as early in the Restoration period as May 1661, an effort was made by the Scottish Parliament to get the Synod of Lothian to sanction the repeating the Creed by parents at baptism, and the singing of the Doxology by the congregation at the close of each exercise of praise. The Synod refusing to give its sanction to these proposals, the Earl of Callander, by authority of Parliament, forcibly dissolved the court.[111]

As soon as possible after the appointment of bishops to the

terians. . . . The English Book of Common Prayer was never introduced into Scotland, and, previous to 1637, was used only in the Chapel Royal, and perhaps occasionally in one or two other places, to please the King."—Dr M'Crie's "Review of 'Tales of my Landlord,'" 1817. Reprinted in 'Miscellaneous Writings,' 1841, pp. 276, 277. Sir Walter Scott "devoted a very large part" of an article in the 'Quarterly Review' for January 1818 "to an elaborate defence of his own picture of the Covenanters" (Lockhart's 'Life,' vol. iv. p. 34). In the course of the article the writer is forced to confess that "the mode of worship used in the Episcopal establishment was, in all material parts, the same which the Presbyterians used." It is made matter of boast by the son and biographer of Gilbert Burnet, who was ordained minister at Salton in Haddingtonshire in 1665, and continued in that quiet rural charge for five years, that he was the only minister of his time who made use of the prayers of the English Church Prayer-book.—"Life of Bishop Burnet," by his son Thomas, appended to fol. ed. of 'Hist. of his own Time.' London: 1724.

[110] "The history of the short-lived Scottish Prayer-book is well known. At the Restoration neither the one nor the other was imposed, but the public worship was left to be conducted as it had been practised in the Presbyterian Church."—Dr M'Crie, *ut sup.*, p. 277. "There was no liturgy or appointed form of prayer in the public worship, the late opposition having discouraged any new attempt that way."—The Rev. John Skinner's 'Eccles. Hist. of Scot.' Two vols. 1788. Vol. ii. p. 467. "The ritual and forms of worship were almost the same as before the commencement of the troubles."—Prof. Grub, *ut sup.*, p. 319. "The old machinery of Session and Presbytery was kept running on the old lines, and there was no ritual innovation to provoke to opposition."—Dr W. Blair, 'Archbishop Leighton,' &c. London: 1874. P. 32.

[111] Nicoll's 'Diary,' *ut sup.*, p. 333.

several sees, diocesan synods met by order of the Lords of Council, and gave forth instructions of various kinds.

At St Andrews the primate instructed such clergy as were present, those of Fife being conspicuous by absence,[112] to substitute Scripture reading for lecturing, to repeat the *Gloria Patri* and Lord's Prayer at the close of each reading, and to use the Apostles' Creed at baptism. By the Synod of Edinburgh arrangements were made for daily morning and evening prayers in all towns of any size, for the Lord's Prayer being offered at least once in "every preaching," for the repetition of the Doxology, and of the Creed at baptism, it being left to the discretion of the officiating clergyman whether the latter be done by the father or by the minister.[113]

The Synod of Aberdeen enacted that there be a reader in every congregation, the service conducted by such to consist of a set form, including the Lord's Prayer, Scripture reading, recital of the Creed, and to conclude with a rehearsing of the Ten Commandments. At the same meeting of the northern clergy it was appointed by the bishop, with consent of his clergy, that the Directory, "practised by the late pretended Generall Assembly," be laid aside, and not be made use of in time coming. At another diet a form of prayers for the king to be used in public worship was submitted and approved of; and on the same occasion a recommendation was issued to the effect that, when engaged in divine service, worshippers should either stand or kneel, all standing at the singing of the Doxology.[114]

Considering who presided over its deliberations, special interest attaches to the newly constituted Synod of Dunblane. When it met on the 15th of September 1662, Bishop Leighton

[112] "Most of the ministers from Angus, Mearns, and Perthshire were present, but a large number of those from Fife declined to attend."—Prof. Grub, vol. iii. chap. lxiii. p. 201.

[113] Nicoll's 'Diary,' *ut sup.*, p. 381.

[114] 'Selections from the Registers of the Synod of Aberdeen.' Spalding Club, 1846.

preached a sermon *ad clerum*, and thereafter submitted to the clergy of the diocese certain proposals, classifying them under the two heads of Discipline and Worship. His suggestions under the latter heading did not differ materially from those submitted to the other synodical meetings, the similarity being suggestive of a prearranged programme. Daily morning and evening prayers, the more frequent use of the Lord's Prayer, Doxology, and Creed, the discontinuance of lecturing combined with preaching, and the reading of larger portions of Scripture—"this not as a by-work while they are convening, but after the people are well convened and the worship solemnly begun with confession of sins and prayer" —these are the points upon which the apostle of sweet reasonableness in an age of misrule and unreason laid greatest stress.[115]

It will be noted that the ritual modifications thus recommended or enjoined by the Episcopal Synods of the Restoration do not amount to very much; and further, that supposing them all to be carried out, the effect would simply be to modify the ritual of the Westminster Directory in the way of falling back upon that of the Book of Common Order. There is not one of the details now mentioned which had not, at one time or another, found a place in the public worship of Presbyterian Scotland, although English influence and Irish immigration may have resulted in some of them falling into disuse.

That in all its essentials the conduct of divine service continued Presbyterian under the Episcopalian establishment, from the morning of the Restoration to the eve of the Revolution, may be made good from the information supplied by two English travellers—the one an eminent naturalist, and the other a London rector.

[115] 'Charges to the Clergy of the Synod of Dunblane.' First printed from the Register or Minute-Book of the Synod of Dunblane, in 1797; reprinted in all editions of Leighton's collected or selected Works.

We have already adduced the testimony of John Ray, the botanist, to the singing of the Doxology in the parish church of Dunbar on the 18th of August 1661. Ray and his companion spent the following Sunday in Dumfries. There they heard the Rev. George Campbell conduct the service, in the course of which he prayed for the preservation of the government and discipline of the Scottish Church, speaking openly and plainly against Prelacy, with all its adjuncts and consequents.[116] At an after-stage of his Itinerary the traveller gives this description of public worship, as conducted in Scotland:—

"The Minister there does not shift places out of the desk into the pulpit as in England, but, at his first coming in, ascends the pulpit. They commonly begin their worship with a psalm before the minister comes in, who, after the psalm is finished, prayeth, and then reads and expounds, in some places, in some not; then another psalm is sung, and after that their minister prays again, and preacheth as in England. Before sermon, commonly, the officers of the town stand at the churchyard gate with a joined stool and a dish to gather their alms of all that come to church. The people here frequent their churches much better than in England, and have their ministers in more esteem and veneration. They seem to perform their devotions with much alacrity."[117]

The other Englishman who has given a description of the conduct of worship in the churches of Scotland just before the Revolution is the Rev. Thomas Morer, rector of St Anne's, Aldersgate, London, who was, prior to holding that office, chaplain of an English regiment. In 1702 this clergyman published what he termed 'A Short Account of Scot-

[116] George Campbell, M.A., admitted Minister of the Second Charge, Dumfries, 11th Oct. 1658; seized at Edinburgh in 1661 for disobeying the order for keeping the anniversary of his Majesty's restoration; retreated to Holland, returned in 1687, became Minister of First Charge, died 3d July 1701. He married Rosina, daughter of Hew Henrysone, his colleague in the First Charge.—Scott's 'Fasti,' *ut sup.*, Part ii., pp. 569-571. Ray's reference to the relation between the two colleagues is peculiarly worded.

[117] 'Memorials of John Ray, &c., with his Itineraries,' Itinerary II., pp. 160, 161. The Ray Society. London: 1846.

land,'[118] compiled from notes taken by him when he had occasion to be in Scotland, some fourteen years previous to publication. After a brief description of the government of the Church in the northern kingdom, and of the circumstances which, in his judgment, resulted in the rejection of the Scottish Liturgy of 1637, in stating which, as might be expected, the English chaplain gets sometimes beyond his depth, he comes to "The Divine Service and Offices," under which heading he gives a view of public worship on the Lord's Day as ministered by that Church, which, according to him, "has hitherto used no Liturgy at all, no more than the Presbyterians which now [1702] govern."

"First, the Precentor, about half an hour before the Preacher comes, reads two or three chapters to the Congregation, of what part of Scripture he pleases or as the Minister gives him directions. As soon as the Preacher gets into the pulpit the Precentor leaves reading and sets a psalm, singing with the people till the Minister, by some sign, orders him to give over. The psalm ended, the Preacher begins, confessing sins and begging pardon, exalting the holiness and majesty of God, and setting before Him our vileness and propensity to transgress His commandments. Then he goes to sermon, delivered always by heart, and therefore sometimes spoiled with battologies [repetitions] and little impertinencies. The sermon finished, he returns to prayer; thanks God for that opportunity to deliver His word; prays for all mankind, for all Christians, for that particular nation, for the sovereign and royal family, without naming any, for subordinate magistrates, for sick people (especially such whose names the Precentor hands up to him); then concludes with the Lord's Prayer to sanctify what was said before. After

[118] "A Short Account of Scotland. Being a Description of the Nature of that Kingdom, and what the Constitution of it is in Church and State. Wherein also some notice is taken of their Chief Cities and Royal Boroughs. With an Appendix,—I. About their King's Supremacy; II. The Difference of the Scotch and English Liturgy; III. The Revenue and Expence on the Civil and Military List according to a late Establishment. London: Printed for Tho. Newborough, at the Golden Ball in St Paul's Church Yard, 1702.' The copy of this valuable but scarce book made use of by me is in the Library of the New College, Edinburgh.

this another psalm is sung, named by the Minister, and frequently suited to the subject of his sermon; which done, he gives the benediction, and dismisses the congregation for that time."

Afternoon service follows closely upon that of the morning, "because in the interim they eat nothing." The order of service is similar to what has been described.

"Such," moralises the London rector, "is the Church's way in Scotland, and it seems to us Presbyterian, and therefore we the more admire [wonder] that the two parties should so much disagree between themselves when they appear to the world so like brethren." "Truly," he goes on to remark, "their difference is hardly discernible; for their singing of psalms, praying, preaching, and collections are the same, and 'tis the whole of their worship in both the congregations. They both do it after the same manner, saving that after the psalm the Episcopal minister uses the Doxology, which the other omits, and concludes his own prayer with that of the Lord, which the Presbyterian refuses to do." [119]

Morer's description of the dispensation of sacraments and solemnisation of marriage in Scotland toward the close of the Stuart occupancy of the throne calls for no special notice, unless it be that in the case of baptism questions are reported to be put concerning the Creed to the father, while god-parents are not mentioned; that in the case of the Communion it is stated to be "dispensed to the people while they are sitting, after the example of the Apostles eating the old Passover;" and that marriages are said to be "openly solemnised in the Church, and indifferently on any day of the week." [120]

Burials were, so far as Morer's observations enabled him to judge, "made without a minister," in order to avoid what might seem to savour of Popery. On the day of burial the coffin was brought out, "covered with a large black cloth or velvet pall, sprinkled with herbs and flowers," and supported by three poles, "like those our chairmen use," having

[119] 'Short Account,' &c., pp. 59-62. [120] Ibid., pp. 62-64.

three men on each side to support and march with the bier. A procession was formed, one portion of which went before the coffin-bearers, the other following them in ranks without confusion, the rear being brought up by "a promiscuous company of women," who walked "without distinction of quality," and also "without any order." The churchyard being reached, "they put in the dead corpse with little ceremony, and then the company immediately return home." [121]

Such a mode of interment might well appear to the English clergyman sadly lacking in Christian respect and reverence. It is with evident and laudable satisfaction he proceeds to tell how it fell to his lot as chaplain to take part in the burial of an English officer in the parish of Dalkeith, according to Anglican ritual. In order to avoid giving offence by displaying the Prayer-book, the burial-service was committed to memory by Chaplain Morer, and was thereafter "delivered by heart." Thus conducted, the service "so well satisfied many of the Scotch of that town that they could not forbear calling it a Christian burial, and said that theirs was like the burial of a dog in comparison of the other." [122]

This absence of religious services in the case of Scottish burials continued for more than a century after Morer's day.

The Rev. Rowland Hill paid his first visit to Scotland in 1798, and as an incident in that visit his biographer records the following:—

"At Hawick he saw for the first time a Scotch funeral conducted without a prayer or the presence of a minister, and observed to a bystander, 'Your funerals are soon over.' A loquacious old woman told him prayers were of no use to the dead. This he admitted, but suggested that the people of Scotland lost an excellent opportunity of doing good to the living, if they could do nothing for the dead. 'I was surprised,' he adds, 'at this omission in Scotland; but considering that a Scotsman always stands as an antipode to the

[121] Ibid., pp. 64, 65.

[122] Ibid., pp. 67, 68.

Pope, it appeared probable that papal prayers for the dead determined John Knox, their valuable but uncouth reformer, against all prayers at a funeral whatever." [123]

That the services conducted in the open air at the conventicles or field-meetings of the Covenanters were Presbyterian in pattern and detail need hardly be stated. The matter to be emphasised is that, in spite of all that was abnormal and alarming, full of discomfort and hardship alike to ministers and congregations in these proscribed gatherings, there would seem to have been a careful regard to the leading exercises of public worship as these had been observed in the forsaken parish churches.

There was lecturing or prefacing as there had been from the time of the Westminster divines. Thus at the famous conventicle of the 8th of June 1670, held on the Hill of Beath near Dunfermline, the forenoon service was conducted by Mr John Dickson, who lectured for a considerable time before preaching; the afternoon service fell to Mr Blackader, who, *after some prefacing*, took for the text of his sermon the 16th verse of the 9th chapter of 1st Corinthians.[124] On another and later occasion—the first Sabbath of January 1674—Mr Blackader addressed a large gathering at Kinkell House, a short distance from St Andrews. There he lectured on the 2d Psalm. Before the service had proceeded far the wife of the primate became aware of what was going on, and, in the absence of her husband, sent out a mixed multitude, composed of the militia, the town rabble, and a number of the wilder students,[125] to disperse the worshippers. By the time this motley company reached the scene the lecture

[123] 'The Life of the Rev. Rowland Hill.' By the Rev. E. Sidney. Chap. vii. pp. 185, 186.

[124] 'Memoirs of the Rev. John Blackader.' By Andrew Crichton. 1823. Pp. 155-157.

[125] To the honour of the students of St Andrews in the seventeenth century let this be noted: "There were 12 or 14 of the best affected scholars hearers at Kinkel."

was ended, and Blackader was about to begin his sermon. The lady of the house remonstrated with the lieutenant in charge for creating a disturbance on the Lord's Day, and having brought forth some ale for him and his men, succeeded in getting him to draw off the intruders. Thereafter the congregation gathered quietly together again, heard a sermon, and "the meeting closed in peace." [126]

Again, there was generally at Covenanting services in times of persecution the exercise of praise.

True, there were occasions when, for obvious reasons, singing could not be engaged in. Such occasions were those of the midnight conventicle, as described in the lines of James Grahame:—

> "When the wintry storm raged fierce,
> And thunder-peals compelled the men of blood
> To couch within their dens; then dauntlessly
> The scattered few would meet, in some deep dell
> By rocks o'er-canopied, to hear the voice,
> Their faithful pastor's voice."

On other occasions, however, when Scotia's persecuted children

> "Heard the word of God
> By Cameron thundered, or by Renwick poured
> In gentle stream: then rose the song, the loud
> Acclaim of praise; the wheeling plover ceased
> Her plaint; the solitary place was glad,
> And on the distant cairns the watcher's ear
> Caught doubtfully at times the breeze-borne note."

Cairntable, a conspicuous mountain-height on the border of two parishes, Muirkirk in Ayrshire and Douglas in Lanarkshire, was the scene of many a Covenanting gathering. Here,

[126] 'Memoirs of the Rev. John Blackader,' *ut sup.*, p. 177. At p. 261 mention is made of "a very moving discourse" on Jeremiah viii. 6 "by way of preface." See also "A choice Collection of very valuable Prefaces, Lectures, and Sermons preached upon the mountains and muirs of Scotland, in the hottest time of the late persecution. By that faithful Minister and Martyr of Jesus Christ, The Reverend Mr James Renwick." In some cases there was a preface and no lecture; when there was a lecture before the sermon it was generally preceded by "a preface to lecture."

on the 28th of December 1686, James Renwick prefaced, lectured, and preached to a large audience. His preface was devoted to a setting forth of forty-one "causes of a Fast," which were enumerated and enforced by the preacher "*after singing a part of the 78th Psalm.*" [127]

Finally, at the Covenanters' open-air services the sacraments were dispensed. To go back to the famous Hill of Beath conventicle, attendance at that gathering entailed disastrous consequences upon many of the worshippers.[128] Two of these—Mr John Vernor and Mr Robert Orr—were charged with the heinous offence of having had their children baptised. Both were imprisoned. Inasmuch as he refused to inform upon others, the former was fed with bread and water, and so heavily ironed that in course of time one of his limbs showed symptoms of gangrene. The two were ultimately set at liberty upon the urgent representations of some people of rank, but only on condition that they found security to the extent of 500 merks each to appear when called upon.[129]

[127] 'A Choice Collection,' &c., *ut sup.*, p. 247. "An old Christian Sufferer, yet alive in the Parish of *Orr* in *Galloway*, writes to me, That in the year 1677, he heard Mr *John Welwood* preach in the South, near the Border. A Gentleman came four or five Miles to stop him from preaching on his Ground. Mr *Welwood* was begun ere he came; Mr *Welwood* had sung in the 24 Psalm, *The Earth's the Lord's, and the Fulness thereof:* And, Prefacing upon the same, as their Ordinary then was, said, Tho' the Earth be the Lord's, and the Fulness thereof, &c., yet the poor Fools of the World will not allow a Bit of his Earth to preach his Gospel upon. The Gentleman standing at the side of the People, going to discharge him from preaching upon his Ground, these Words so pierced him, that he sat down and heard him through the Day, went Home, and set up the Worship of God in his Family, and very shortly thereafter joined himself in a Society-Meeting, where my Informer was present, and thereafter became a Sufferer himself, but not unto Death."—Patrick Walker's 'Biographia Presbyteriana.' Two vols. Edinb.: 1827. Vol. ii. "Postscript," p. 96.

[128] Some were heavily fined; some were taken bound never to attend such services in the future; some were imprisoned for refusing to give the names of officiating ministers; while others were sent out of the country into slavery.

[129] Wodrow's 'Hist. of the Sufferings,' &c., book ii. chap. v. sect. i. vol. ii. of Burns's ed., p. 158. See also ibid., book ii. chap. i. sect. i., pp. 4-6.

The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was also dispensed under the dome of what Carlyle calls "the great Cathedral of Immensity" to those who could not with a clear conscience receive it from the hands of curates within parish churches. A famous Covenanting Communion was that held at East Nisbet, in Berwickshire, on the banks of the Whitadder, 1677. At this sacramental service John Blackader took a leading part, and has fortunately given a description of the scene which, if homely in its style, is touching in its simplicity.

On this occasion rumours were abroad as to intended violence on the part of county militia and the king's troops, the Earl of Hume [130] having, it was reported, profanely sworn that he would make the horses of his troopers trample the Communion bread under their hoofs, and drink the sacramental wine. On this account it was deemed prudent to take precautions. Reconnoitring parties were formed; companies of armed and mounted yeomen were drawn up round the congregation, care being taken to place them so that "they might hear sermon."

"The place where we convened," writes Blackader, whose narrative we give in condensed form, "was every way commodious, and seemed to have been formed on purpose. It was a green and pleasant haugh, fast by the water-side. In both directions there was a spacious brae, in form of a half round, covered with delightful pasture, and rising with a gentle slope to a goodly height. Above us was the clear blue sky, for it was a sweet and calm Sabbath morning, promising to be, indeed, one of the days of the Son of man. The Communion-tables were spread on the green by the water, and around them the people had arranged themselves in decent order. But the far greater multitude sat on the brae-face, which was crowded from top to bottom. The tables were served by some gentlemen, persons of the gravest deportment. None were admitted without tokens, as usual, which were distributed on the Saturday, but only to such as were known to some of the ministers

[130] "As ramp a youth as any in the country." — Blackader's 'Memoirs' p. 200.

or persons of trust to be free from public scandals. All the regular forms were gone through: the communicants entered at one end and retired at the other, a way being kept clear for them to take their seats again on the hillside.

"Mr Welsh preached the action sermon, and served the first two tables: the other four ministers, Mr Blackader, Mr Dickson, Mr Riddel, and Mr Rae, exhorted the rest in turn: the table services were closed by Mr Welsh with solemn thanksgiving. The Communion was peaceably concluded; all the people heartily offering up their gratitude, and singing with a joyful noise to the Rock of their salvation. It was pleasant as the night fell to hear their melody swelling in full unison along the hills, the whole congregation joining with one accord and praising God with the voice of psalm. There were two long tables and one short across the head, with seats on each side. About a hundred sat at every table: there were 16 tables served, so that about 3200 communicated that day. The afternoon sermon was preached by Mr Dickson; and the season of solemn services was brought to a close with a sermon on Monday afternoon from Mr Blackader."

# PERIOD V.

## REVOLUTION—UNION—DECADENCE.

TOWARDS the close of 1688, William Henry, Prince of Orange, and son-in-law of James VII., addressed a declaration to "the ancient kingdom of Scotland," in which he set forth the reasons that induced him "to appear in arms for preserving the Protestant religion and restoring the laws and liberties" of that country. In the course of the manifesto, "given at our court in the Hague," reference is made to the endeavour in certain quarters to introduce a religion contrary to law, which rendered it the duty of those more immediately concerned to come forward in order "to preserve and maintain the established laws, liberties, and customs, and, above all, the religion and worship of God that is established among them."[1] Considering the avowed faith of James VII., this reference to the Church of Rome was natural, and would be palatable to the majority of Scotsmen; but the absence from the declaration of all mention of Prelacy must have rendered it disappointing to many in the ancient kingdom, with whom abhorrence of that system was not less intense than their detestation of Popery.

How the kingdom and Kirk of Scotland viewed the Prelacy forced upon the country by the second Charles and

[1] Wodrow's 'Hist. of the Sufferings of the Ch. of Scot.,' book iii. chap xii. sect. iv. Vol. iv. pp. 470-472 of Burns's ed.

the last of the Jameses was speedily made known in an address presented to the Dutch Prince, "together with a call and humble petition to his highness from the people of Scotland of all sorts, especially of the Presbyterians there." Among other things petitioned for in the national manifesto were these: "That the office of bishops above pastors, with all that pertain thereunto, be assoilied, . . . the same having no warrant from God's word, being contrary to our solemn covenants and vows, and which our predecessors at the bringing in of the first bishops . . . did hold forth to be the egg of which antichrist and the man of sin was clecked [hatched] at first, and by which, as a ladder and steps, he mounted up to the popedom:" "that presbyterian government be restored and re-established, as it was at the beginning of our reformation from popery, and renewed in the year 1638, continuing until 1660."[2]

To the same effect was the prayer of an address drawn up at a largely attended meeting of Presbyterian ministers held in Edinburgh, January 1689. In this paper advantage is taken of a reference in the Dutch declaration to the ejection of 1661 to direct attention to the true cause of that act, which resulted in the filling of the places of ejected Presbyterians with, in many cases, ignorant and scandalous persons, that cause being "the overturning of the presbyterial government, which was generally received as of divine right, and established by the national assemblies of this church, and sanction of many civil laws, and instead thereof, the erecting of prelacy."[3]

Upon the 13th of February 1689, in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, Prince William Henry and Princess Mary accepted

[2] Ibid., pp. 477-481. "The copy I have," writes the historian, "is the first draught of it, with marginal corrections. Whether this address was ever written out, signed, and sent to the prince, I cannot say. . . . I am of opinion that this paper was not got finished before the prince's arrival in England, and so was not sent."

[3] Ibid., pp. 481, 482.

the crown of England, and were proclaimed King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland. The proclamation made no mention of Scotland, which was thus left to resolve, offer, and declare for itself. These steps were soon taken. On the 14th of March 1689 a meeting of the Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland, called by circular letters under the hand and seal of William, was "holden and begun at Edinburgh." By the time those thus summoned had done their work, which was not till the 25th of May, important conclusions had been reached and epoch-making steps had been recorded.

An exchange of letters was followed up with "The Declaration of the Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland, containing the Claim of Right, and the offer of the Crown to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary." In the forefront of this famous document King James VII., styled "a professed Papist," is charged with having acted unconstitutionally when he assumed the regal power, and with invading "the fundamental constitution" of the country, altering the same "from a legal limited monarchy to an arbitrary, despotic power," exercising the same "to the subversion of the Protestant Religion, and the violation of the laws and liberties of the kingdom." On these and other grounds the Estates find and declare "he hath forefaulted the right to the Crown, and the Throne is become vacant."

After this finding there follows a series of declarations, and among these the following have a central place: "That Prelacy and the Superiority of any Office in the Church above Presbyters is, and hath been, a great and insupportable Grievance and Trouble to this Nation, and contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality of the People ever since the Reformation (they having reformed from Popery by Presbyters), and therefore ought to be abolished:" "that WILLIAM and MARY, King and Queen of *England, France,* and *Ireland,* Be and Be Declared King and Queen of *Scotland.*"[4]

[4] 'The Acts and Orders of the Meeting of the Estates of the Kingdom of

The first Scottish Parliament of "our most high and dread Sovereigns William and Mary, by the Grace of God King and Queen of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland," was "holden and begun at Edinburgh" on the 5th of June 1689. One of the Acts of that Parliament, passed on the 22d of the following month, was styled "Act abolishing Prelacy." In this important piece of legislation the King and Queen's Majesties did two things, with advice and consent of the Estates of Parliament. They abolished Prelacy and all superiority of any office in the Church of this kingdom above Presbyters; and they undertook to settle by law that Church government in this kingdom "which is most agreeable to the inclinations of the people," going back, with evident purpose, upon the crave and the very language of the Claim of Right of some three months' earlier date.[5]

A second session of the First Parliament of William and Mary began on the 25th of April 1690, and by the 7th of June further action was taken in the interests of the Church of Scotland. There was ratified and established the Confession of Faith "as the public and avowed Confession of this Church, containing the sum and substance of the doctrine of the Reformed Churches;" there was also established, ratified, and confirmed the Presbyterian Church Government and discipline by Kirk-sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Assemblies, ratified and established in 1592, and thereafter received, by the general consent of this nation, to be the only government of Christ's Church within this kingdom; and lastly, the first meeting of the General Assembly of this Church as above established was appointed "to be at

Scotland, Holden and begun at Edinb. the 14th Day of March 1689. Called by Circular Letters from His Highness the PRINCE of ORANGE, under his Hand and Seal.' Edinb.: 1690. 'The Declaration of the Estates of the Kingdom of Scot. containing the Claim of Right, and the Offer of the Crown to Their Majesties King William and Queen Mary,' pp. 15-19.

[5] Ibid. "Act abolishing Prelacy, July 22, 1689."

Edinburgh the third Thursday of October next to come in this instant year 1690."[6]

It will be observed that the only Westminster document read, voted, and approved by the Parliament of 1690 was the Confession of Faith. The story is current that it was on the motion of the Duke of Hamilton that the thirty-three chapters of the confessional standard were read over "with a distinct and audible voice," the reading being a matter of several hours, and exhausting the endurance of most who were present. When it was proposed that the reading of Catechisms and Directory be proceeded with the wearied members rebelled, and declared the rest might be left to the ministers, to be managed according to their discretion.[7] Whatever of truth or exaggeration there may be in the story, it is certain that the Directory has no place in the Revolution settlement of the Scottish Parliament, the same holding good of the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant.[8]

When we look back upon the parliamentary legislation of the Revolution period with any knowledge of the factions represented in the meetings of Convention and of Parliament, and consequently with some appreciation of the difficulties of the situation, the settlement arrived at may appear to have been as satisfactory as could well be expected. There is the wisdom of the statesman and the moderation of the reasonable party man in these weighty words of Lord Melville, written by one who had full knowledge of what was attainable, and what might be theoretically desirable but out of

[6] Ibid. "Act ratifying the Confession of Faith, and settling Presbyterian Church Government, June 7, 1690."

[7] 'Account of the late Establishment of Presbyterian Government,' 1690.

[8] "At the Revolution there was no legislation on worship. Parliament did not legalise the Directory as it legalised the Confession of Faith."—'The Church of Scot., Past and Present.' Edited by Dr Story. 'The Ritual of the Church.' By Rev. Thomas Leishman, D.D. Vol. v. p. 397.

reach—"Men must take what they can have in a cleanly way, when they cannot have all they would."[9]

The majority of Scottish Presbyterians took substantially this view of the situation. Living at the crisis of a sudden transition from despotism to secured liberty, "smarting from the fresh wounds of anti-Christian oppression, weary of strife, and anxious for rest and peace," they "either thankfully accepted, or at least acquiesced in," the settlement, "in the hope of being able practically to effect under it the great ends which the Church had all along, in all her former contendings, regarded as indispensable."[10]

It was in this thankful and hopeful frame of spirit that about one hundred and eighty ministers convened in the Assembly House, Edinburgh, on the 16th of October 1690, and constituted themselves into a General Assembly, the first after an interval of seven-and-thirty years.

Both prior to and at the opening of the Assembly strenuous endeavours were made by the king and his ministers of State to impress upon fathers and brethren the urgent desirableness of cultivating the virtue or grace of moderation. The Earl of Melville wrote to the royal commissioner, Lord Carmichael, "an honest and moderat person," as also to such Presbyterian ministers as Mr Hugh Kennedie, one of the ministers of Trinity College Church, and the Moderator designate, Mr James Kirkton, Dr Rule, Mr Fraser of Brae, Mr David Wilson; and the burden of every communication was—be temperate, be moderate, only determine matters of absolute necessity, make the session short, just enter upon possession and then adjourn.[11]

At the second meeting of the Assembly his Majesty's letter was read, in which such a frame of government "as was

[9] Lord Melville to the Earl of Crawfurd.—'Leven and Melville Papers' (Bannatyne Club), p. 210.

[10] Act and Declaration of the Free Church of Scotland, 1851, prefixed to Subordinate Standards and other authoritative Documents.

[11] 'Leven and Melville Papers,' pp. 542-544.

judged to be most agreeable to the inclinations of our good subjects" is represented as ready to be enacted by king and Parliament, while "a calm and peaceable procedure," no less pleasing than becoming, is enjoined in these silvery sentences, which certainly breathe the spirit, if indeed they did not emanate from the pen, of "Cardinal" Carstares: "We never could be of the mind that violence was suited to the advancing of true religion; nor do we intend that our authority shall ever be a tool to the irregular passions of any party. Moderation is what religion enjoins, neighbouring churches expect from you, and we recommend to you."[12] In their answer to that "gracious letter" the Scottish Presbyterian divines assure his Majesty that nothing will be wanting on their part to render the management of their affairs such as he had just reason to expect, and such as would never give him cause to repent of what he had done for them. "The God of love, the Prince of peace, with all the providences that have gone over us," say they, "and circumstances that we are under, as well as your Majesty's most obliging pleasure, require of us a calm and peaceable procedure."[13]

The only legislative measure of the Assembly of 1690 which can be regarded as having any bearing upon the conduct of divine service is in the form of an "Act anent the Administration of the Sacraments," the purpose of which is to prohibit "the administration of the Lord's Supper to sick persons in their houses, and all other use of the same, except in the public assemblies of the Church; and also . . . the administration of Baptism in private, that is, in any place, or at any time, when the congregation is not orderly called together to wait on the dispensing of the Word.[14] In one Act, the Confession of Faith is mentioned as that which "all probationers licensed to preach, all intrants into the ministry, and

[12] 'Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1638-1842.' Edinb.: 1843. P. 222.

[13] Ibid., p. 223.

[14] Ibid., pp. 226, 227.

all other ministers and elders received into communion with us in church government," must give approval of by subscription;[15] in another, provision is made for the effective distribution of "Irish [Gaelic] Bibles, New Testaments, and Catechisms" among "the Highlanders of this Kingdom."[16] But the Directory for Public Worship is not once referred to in the doings or actings of the first Assembly after the Revolution.

Nor, after what we have seen, need that be wondered at. For, though an alien form of Church government had been forced upon Scotland, the Church worship throughout the kingdom continued substantially what it had been in days of Reformation freedom and purity, and therefore legislative action was not necessary to restore what had never been lost. It only remained for the episcopal incumbents, who, in order to retain their benefices, became presbyterian conformists, to pray for William and Mary instead of for the fugitive James, and to conduct the services in the parish churches on the same lines as formerly; the outed presbyterian ministers, when restored to their charges, might safely be left to officiate within walls with the same disregard of liturgical ritual as had characterised their conventicle services in the open air all through the times of the late persecution.

As might be expected, there were here and there throughout the country cases of friction, and even of collision, arising from episcopalian injudiciousness or presbyterian indiscretion, from the tenacity of the adherents of a lost cause or the irrepressible buoyancy of those who found the tables turned in their favour.

An incident or two may serve as illustrative of the kind of thing referred to, the locality of the incident giving additional interest to what took place.

[15] Ibid., p. 225.

[16] Ibid., p. 227. The last of the six "Overtures anent the Irish Bibles," &c., approved by the Assembly, contained a recommendation "to the ministers concerned in the Highlands to dispatch the whole Paraphrase of the Irish Psalms to the press."

At Dumfries, two clergymen who had, during episcopal ascendency, received presentation from a patron and accepted collation from the bishop of the diocese, gave offence to the parishioners by continuing to use, more or less openly, their Books of Common Prayer, and that for two years after the legal abolition of Prelacy. So, on a Sunday in February 1692, a party of hillmen or Cameronians, travelling four or five miles, entered the town, dragged the offending clerics some distance out of it, took from each his book of service, and administered corporal punishment before suffering them to return home. At an early hour next morning the same party reappeared at the town cross and there burned one of the obnoxious volumes, having previously affixed to it a statement containing their protest against all human compilations of praise and prayer. When this discreditable outrage was brought under the notice of the Privy Council they summoned the provost of Dumfries before them, censured him for allowing such a violation of law and order to take place, and enjoined him to see that in time coming there be no occasion given for such a breach of the peace.[17]

An incident of another kind took place in Aberdeen, always a stronghold of Episcopacy, and where some opposition was offered to the re-establishing of Presbytery. There, in the months of July and August 1694, several of the town and gown interrupted the minister of Old Aberdeen during divine service by singing the Doxology in separate parts of the church, just when he was about to pronounce the benediction. In the charge brought against the disturbers, when identified and brought before the authorities, it was alleged that they, being presbyterians, could not but know that according to that ritual the Doxology is not condemned but reverently regarded, so that their interruption must have been prompted simply by the intention to disturb the congregation and annoy the

[17] 'Privy Council Record,' Feb. 1692. 'Domestic Annals of Scotland.' By Robert Chambers. Edinb.: 1861. Vol. iii. p. 65.

minister,—a charge which gathered confirmation from the fact which came out in the course of examination that the students implicated were in the habit of insulting the elders of the congregation when they met on the streets, hooting, throwing stones, and threatening to rabble them. Three of the unruly youths, having made humble submission and given promise of better behaviour, were absolved; other three, failing to compear, were put to the horn and their goods forfeited.[18]

In his pleading with the Church of Scotland for the reform of her public worship, the late Dr Robert Lee of Edinburgh gives some curious extracts from the minutes of the kirk-session of Banchory-Devenick, a parish on the boundary-line between the counties of Aberdeen and Kincardine, the excerpts extending in time from the 28th of March 1708 to the 26th of October 1712. According to these minutes, the people of that northern parish had during that period intimation made to them of the anniversary days of the incarnation and crucifixion of the Son of God, of "the descent of the Holy Ghost, called Pentecost or Whitsunday," of "the dismal anniversary day of the barbarous murder of the Royal Martyr, King Charles I., of ever-blessed memory;" and they were called upon to observe these days religiously, sermons being preached on each of the anniversaries suitable to the occasion. Still further, the extracts record the payment "out of the public money" of certain sums "for the incident charges of sixty-two service-books," for distribution "amongst the parochiners in order to setting up the English Liturgy in this church;" and also the payment of other sums at a later date for "two hundred books of Common Prayer given to the minister out of the charity books sent from England, . . . as also a folio book for the minister, and a quarto for the clerk." The parish having been thus sown broadcast with the necessary forms of ritual, intimation was made to

[18] Ibid., Aug. 1694. 'Domestic Annals,' &c., p. 103.

the congregation on the 19th of October 1712, "that the next Lord's Day the excellent Liturgy of the Church of England was to be used in the publick worship of God, . . . and the people were seriously exhorted to perform this method of worship with a true spirit of devotion, and with that becoming gravity and decencie that was expected from those who had been so exemplary heretofore in the publick worship of God." The minutes certify that on the following Sunday "the Liturgy of the Church of England was first used in the publick worship of God in this parish church, in order to the continuance thereof."[19]

Were these extracts to be taken as at all typical of the state of matters throughout Scotland in the early part of the eighteenth century, then not only did the Revolution accomplish nothing in the direction of the abolition of Episcopacy, but it favoured the introduction of Anglican worship. A little examination, however, of the times, the locality, and the agent instrumental in bringing about the foregoing state of matters will show that, so far from being typical, the situation was altogether exceptional and abnormal.

The wording of the earlier minutes is such as indicates the existence and working of a conviction that something illegal was being done when services for anniversary days were intimated; and so, in the case of Christmas, Good Friday, and Easter Sunday, there is a careful avoidance of the employment of these terms. Christmas is referred to as "the anniversary day of the Incarnation of the Son of God;" Good Friday, as that of the Crucifixion; and Easter Sunday, that of the Resurrection.

As regards the introduction of the English Prayer-book, Dr Lee omits to notice what has a material bearing upon the matter—viz., that it took place immediately after the passing of the Toleration Bill of the Tory Ministry in 1712, after a

[19] 'The Reform of the Church of Scotland in Worship, Government, and Doctrine.' By Robert Lee, D.D. Edinb.: 1864. Chap. iv. pp. 35, 36.

new Parliament had been elected in which the English High Church party claimed a majority, while most of the Scottish members were open and ardent Episcopalian Jacobites.

The passing of that Act, and the manifest favour of the Government towards Episcopacy, stimulated the English clergy to make strenuous efforts for the introduction of their forms of worship into Scotland. One of the means employed was the sending the Book of Common Prayer in large quantities for gratuitous circulation—the "charity books" mentioned in the Banchory-Devenick session record.[20]

Here and there in the north of Scotland, where it was thought the innovation could be effected safely, the former episcopalian, but now presbyterian, minister introduced stealthily the English forms and English ecclesiastical furniture, emboldened in some cases so to do not only in the legally tolerated meeting-houses, but even into the parish churches in which they, by professing to conform, continued to officiate.[21] The Rev. James Gordon, M.A., minister of Banchory-Devenick—"Parson Gordon," as he continued to be styled—was one of this small group of clergymen. He was a man of marked individuality, who had a somewhat exceptional record. Graduating at Aberdeen in 1661, he must have been ordained before the close of 1673 as episco-

[20] The anonymous author of 'A Representation of the State of the Church in North Britain' (1718) makes grateful reference to "the generous charity of many pious and well-disposed persons of all ranks of the Church of England, particularly of the famous University of Oxford, at whose charges and charitable contributions, without any brief to further it, above nineteen thousand [?] Common Prayer Books and other devotional edifying books relating to it were remitted from London in the space of two years."—Prof. Grub's 'Eccles. Hist. of Scot.,' chap. lxxiv. vol. iii. p. 368, n.

[21] Prof. Grub refers to "two interesting documents printed from the Papers of the Episcopal Church in Scotland in the 'Scot. Eccles. Journal' (vol. vii. pp. 24-26), containing some notices of an attempt made to introduce the Liturgy into the Highlands, in which Bishop Campbell took an active part." He thinks it probable "that the first parish church in which an altar was erected was Contin, in the diocese of Ross. The incumbent who set it up mentions that it was made after the pattern of one which he had seen in the meeting-house in which Patrick Dunbreck officiated."—*Ut sup.*

pal incumbent of the northern parish. In 1680 he was deposed by his ecclesiastical superiors for publishing a work to which he gave the name of 'The Reformed Bishop.' In explanation both of the title and contents of the book, it was currently reported that its author was disappointed in the expectation he had formed of a bishopric, and so "fell a-railing at the grapes because out of his reach."[22] The sentence was not long of being revoked, and the offender was restored to his benefice within the year of his deposition. Conforming to presbytery at the Revolution, Mr Gordon next came into public notice in 1694 as one of a committee of episcopal clergy who, alarmed at the prospect of a visit to Aberdeen of a Commission of the General Assembly, formed themselves into a league of defence and defiance. This committee, of which Parson Gordon was a leading and active member, demanded answers to certain queries relative to the authority of the Commission; protested against the late Assemblies as not lawfully representing the National Church; and, when refused any satisfaction by the Commission, appealed "to their Majesties William and Mary as Supreme Judges under God within these dominions, and to the next lawfully constituted and orderly called General Assembly of this National Church."[23] The absurdity of such an appeal to the civil power, which had already established Presbytery, was pointed out at the time, and has been admitted by recent Episcopalian historians,[24] although it might seem quite a natural procedure

[22] Dr H. Scott's 'Fasti Eccles. Scot.,' vol. iii. Pt. ii. Synods of Aberdeen, and Angus and Mearns, pp. 492, 493.

[23] 'The Queries and Protestation of the Scots Episcopal Clergy against the Authority of the Presbyterian General Assemblies at Aberdeen, June 29, 1694, &c. By a Layman of the Ch. of Scot. [George Ridpath.] In New Coll. Lib., Edinb. Pamphlets D. A. In this pamphlet, among the names of delegates is that of "Mr James Gordon, Parson of Banchory-davinick" (p. 1). In the Protestation of Mr William Dunlop, Princip. of the Coll. of Glasgow, the Episcopalian paper is described as "given in by Mr James Gordon, Incumbent at Banchory," &c. (p. 27).

[24] Prof. Grub, while claiming that the Aberdeen manifestoes "be looked

to the translator and editor of 'The Theses of Erastus touching Excommunication."[25]

By 1712 James Gordon must have been advanced in life; but he continued to be "parson" of Banchory-Devenick till his death some time in the year 1714. When the points now touched upon are fairly stated and duly weighed, they will be found not to warrant the assertion of Dr Lee, in support of which they are adduced by him, to the effect that "our present Church system is a great heap of customs which have been changed, according to times and seasons, by private influence and authority, without any sanction being either obtained or sought from the Presbyteries,[26] Synods, or General Assemblies;" neither will they be found to weaken the general contention that public worship, at the outset of the Revolution epoch, remained substantially as it had been in the immediately preceding period, when, although an alien government was obtruded upon the Church of Scotland, her ritual was left to be conducted on the broad lines laid down in the Westminster Directory.

In this connection attention may be directed to an expression which obtained considerable currency in the parliamentary and ecclesiastical legislation of the country in the eighteenth century, although originating in an earlier period—"The Uniformity of Worship." The phrase finds a place in the legislation for 1693. On the 12th of June Parliament passed a measure "for Settling the Quiet and Peace of the

upon rather as legal than as ecclesiastical documents," candidly confesses "that even in that point of view their silence on the subject of Episcopacy, and their appeal to the temporal power which had already established Presbyterianism, admit of no sufficient excuse."—'Eccles. Hist. of Scot.,' chap. lxxii. vol. iii. p. 336, n.

[25] 'The Theses of Erastus touching Excommunication.' Translated from the Latin, with a preface. By Dr Robert Lee. Edinb.: 1844.

[26] Mr Gordon was on one occasion summoned before the Presbytery of Aberdeen and rebuked for allowing his son to officiate for him after his deposition. —Dr Paul of Banchory-Devenick, in letter to Dr Lee, 'Reform of the Ch. of Scot.,' *ut sup.*, pp. 36, 37, n.

Church." This Act, going back upon the legislation of 1690, which ratified the Confession of Faith and settled Presbyterian Church government, ordained "that no person be admitted or continued for hereafter to be a Minister or Preacher within this Church, unless that he, having first taken and subscribed the Oath of Allegiance and subscribed the Assurance, . . . do also subscribe *The Confession of Faith*, . . . declaring the same to be the Confession of his Faith." In the same pacifying measure their Majesties "statute and ordain that Uniformity of Worship and of the administration of all publick ordinances within this Church be observed by all the said Ministers and Preachers, as the same are at present performed and allowed therein, or shall be hereafter declared by the authority of the same, and that no Minister or Preacher be admitted or continued for hereafter, unless that he subscribe to observe and do actually observe the foresaid Uniformity."[27]

The ecclesiastical complement of this state measure appeared on the 13th of April 1694, when the General Assembly passed an "Act approving Overtures anent a Commission," and drew up a set of instructions for the guidance of the same. Among these instructions the following has a place:—

"That this commission may receive into ministerial communion such of the late conforming ministers as, having qualified themselves according to law, shall apply personally to them one by one, duly and orderly, and shall acknowledge, engage, and subscribe upon the end of the Confession of Faith, as follows:—

"'I, , do sincerely own and declare the above Confession of Faith, approven by former General Assemblies of this Church, and ratified by law in the year 1690, to be the confession of my faith; and that I own the doctrine therein contained to be the true doctrine, which I will constantly adhere to; as likewise,

[27] King William and Queen Mary's First Parliament. Fourth Session, xxiii. June 12, 1693.

that I own and acknowledge Presbyterian Church government of this Church, now settled by law, by Kirk-sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Assemblies, to be the only government of this Church, and that I will submit thereto, concur therewith, and never endeavour, directly nor indirectly, the prejudice or subversion thereof; and that I shall observe uniformity of worship, and of the administration of all public ordinances within this Church, as the same are at present performed and allowed.'" [28]

Another piece of legislation carried out by the Assembly of 1694 interests us, not more on account of the matter treated than because of a reference to the Directory as introducing and establishing a custom which had, during the episcopal interregnum, fallen into disuse. It took the form of an "Act anent Lecturing," and is in these brief terms:—

"The General Assembly of this National Church, considering how necessary and edifying it is that the people be well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, doth therefore recommend to the several Presbyteries that they endeavour that the ministers within their respective bounds shall, in their exercise of lecturing, read and open up to the people some large and considerable portion of the Word of God; and this to the effect [in order that] the old custom introduced and established by the Directory may by degrees be recovered." [29]

The Barrier Act of 1697—the next legislative measure of importance—can best be understood and appreciated when read in the light of movements the Scottish Church had from time to time made to prevent innovations in any of the three great departments of doctrine, government, and worship.

As far back as 1639 the Assembly evinced concern regarding "Novations" by framing a short Act "anent advising with Synods and Presbyteries before determination in Novations,"

[28] 'Acts of the Gen. Ass. of the Ch. of Scot.,' *ut sup.*, p. 239.

[29] Ibid., p. 238. Dr Leishman would seem to be writing in forgetfulness or ignorance when he describes the Act of 1705 as that "which recommended, for the first time since the Revolution, a better observance of the Directory."—'The Ritual of the Church,' *ut sup.*, p. 399.

and ordaining "that no novation which may disturbe the peace of the Church and make division be suddenly proponed and enacted." [30]

Then the Assembly of 1641, rejoicing in the exercise of "the libertie of yearly Generall Assemblies," ordained "that no novation in doctrine, worship, or government, be brought in or practised in this Kirk, unless it be first propounded, examined, and allowed in the Generall Assembly; and that transgressors in this kinde be censured by Presbyteries and Synods." [31]

The matter was once more brought before the Supreme Court by means of an overture in 1695. On Christmas Day of that year, "The General Assembly of this National Church, having heard an overture, that no new acts relating to the doctrine, worship, or government of this Church, be made until they be first transmitted to the several Presbyteries," recommended "the members of this Assembly to discourse upon the said overture with their respective Presbyteries, that the next General Assembly may be the more ripe to determine anent the conveniency thereof." [32]

It took two years to ripen the judgment of the Church upon the subject; but by the 8th of January 1697 matters were ready for final legislation, and what is commonly called the Barrier Act was passed by the Assembly of that year as one "anent the Method of passing Acts of Assembly of general concern to the Church, and for preventing of Innovations," having for its object the "preventing any sudden alteration or innovation, or other prejudice to the Church, in either doctrine, or worship, or discipline, or government thereof, now happily established." [33]

The accession of Queen Anne to the throne upon the 18th March 1702 raised the hopes of the adherents of Episcopacy

[30] Ibid., pp. 42, 43. [31] Ibid., p. 48. [32] Ibid., p. 248.

[33] Ibid., pp. 260, 261. For an able statement and discussion of the various theories that have been advanced regarding the Barrier Act, see 'The Law of Creeds in Scotland.' By A. T. Innes, M.A., Advocate. Edinb.: 1867. Chap. iv. p. 196 *et seq.* Also Note B, p. 222.

in Scotland, and proportionately quickened the apprehensions of Presbyterians. Barely tolerated by law and intolerantly treated by the privileged State Church, it was both natural and proper that the Scottish Episcopalians should bestir themselves to procure a measure of toleration. But even with the goodwill of a Tory sovereign and the return of a considerable number of Episcopalians as members, nothing in that direction was gained from Queen Anne's Parliament of 1703—the last elected in the separate kingdom of Scotland. On the contrary, there was a ratifying, approving, and perpetually confirming "all Laws, Statutes, and Acts of Parliament made against Popery and Papists; for establishing, maintaining, and preserving the true Reformed Protestant Religion, and the true Church of Christ, as at present owned and settled within this kingdom"; and "for Establishing, Ratifying, and Confirming Presbyterian Church Government and Discipline . . . as agreeable to the Word of God, and the only Government of Christ's Church within this kingdom." [34]

An attempt, however, was made to obtain freedom for worship according to Episcopal ritual. The Earl of Strathmore, taking courage from a rumour then current that the Presbyterian party was not so considerable as imagined, and from an idea that if the queen were only as Episcopal in her tendencies and favours in Scotland as she was known to be in England she might easily overturn Presbytery, submitted to the same Parliament a measure for the toleration of Episcopal clergymen celebrating worship as prescribed in the formularies of their Church. The proposal was opposed by the Commission of Assembly, from which body there was read a strongly worded protest against any extension of "legal toleration to those of the prelatical principles." Strenuously resisted by the Church in power, and not very strongly ad-

[34] The Laws and Acts passed in Queen Anne's Parliament. First session. II. Act for securing the true Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Government, Sept. 19, 1703.

vocated by the Episcopalian members of Parliament, the toleration measure was allowed to drop.

Though foiled in their endeavour to secure legislative recognition and toleration, the Episcopalians of Scotland were not deterred from the employment of liturgical forms of worship or the use of the English Book of Common Prayer. Not only in the north, where opposition was less likely to be offered, but in such towns as Montrose and Glasgow, in which it might not be expected, cases of this occurred. In some places a breach of the peace was the consequence. The extent to which this introduction of Anglican ritual was carried in the beginning of the reign of Queen Anne created apprehension in the minds of the dominant Presbyterians, and led to the passing of another Act of Assembly directed against "Innovations in the Worship of God," and bearing the date of 1707.

Setting out with the consideration that "the purity of religion, and particularly of divine worship, and uniformity therein, is a signal blessing to the Church of God, and that it hath been the great happiness of this Church, ever since her reformation from Popery, to have enjoyed and maintained the same in a great measure, and that any attempts made for the introduction of innovations in the worship of God therein have been of fatal and dangerous consequence," the Act asserts that "innovations, particularly in the public worship of God, are of late set up in some places in public Assemblies, . . . and that endeavours are used to promote the same, by persons of known disaffection to the present Establishment both of Church and State; the introduction whereof was not so much as once attempted, even during the late Prelacy;" "that such innovations are dangerous to this Church, and manifestly contrary to our known principle (which is, that nothing is to be admitted in the worship of God but what is prescribed in the Holy Scriptures"), contrary also "to the constant practice of this Church, and against the good and laudable laws made since the late happy Revolution for

establishing and securing the same, in her doctrine, worship, discipline, and government; and that they tend to the fomenting of schism and division, to the disturbance of the peace and quiet both of Church and State." On all these grounds the Assembly, "moved with zeal for the glory of God, and the purity and uniformity of His worship," prohibited "the practice of all such innovations in divine worship within this Church;" required "all the ministers of this Church, especially those in whose bounds any such innovations are or may happen to be, to represent to their people the evil thereof, and seriously to exhort them to beware of them, and to deal with all such as do practise the same, in order to their recovery and reformation;" and finally, instructed "the Commission of this Assembly to use all proper means, by applying to the Government or otherwise, for suppressing and removing all such innovations, and preventing the evils and dangers that may ensue thereupon to this Church." [35]

The historical element in this finding of the Church of Scotland will be understood aright only when, what in some quarters is apt to be overlooked, it is kept in view that the departures from use and wont against which it is directed were not Presbyterian but Episcopalian—not springing up within the pale, but coming from beyond the boundary of the Church by law established. The ritual value of the document lies in its explicit, although parenthetical, reassertion of that principle which gives distinctive character and form to Presbyterian worship, the principle so strongly affirmed, as has already been pointed out, in the utterances and writings of the Scottish reformers and the Westminster divines—"nothing is to be admitted in the worship of God but what is prescribed in the Holy Scriptures."

In addition to its historical and ritual importance, a chronological interest belongs to the ecclesiastical Act now mentioned of this particular year. For the year 1707 was that

[35] 'Acts of the Gen. Ass.,' &c., *ut sup.*, pp. 418, 419.

in which began the epoch of the Union between England and Scotland—an epoch next in degree of influence, as in time, to that of the Revolution.

As early in the reign of Queen Anne as September 1705, following the example set by the Parliament of England, the Scottish Estates agreed upon an "Act for a treaty with England."[36] Even at that initial stage of the negotiations care was taken that no movement for union, whether federal or incorporating, should expose the Church of the nation to the danger of being subverted in its constitution or altered in its ritual by any alliance with the larger and more powerful Church across the Border. And so in the last paragraph of the Act consenting to treaty, there is this important condition and proviso laid down as a preliminary to the general question being entered upon: "Providing also, That the said Commissioners shall not treat of, or concerning, any Alteration of the Worship, Discipline, and Government of the Church of this kingdom, as now by Law established."

When the delicate task of selecting Commissioners was entered upon, the Church of Scotland was not represented by a single name, although on the English list there appeared the names of the two archbishops,—the absence of northern ecclesiastics from such a secular body being an additional acknowledgment that nothing was to be done that could in any way affect the position or constitution of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland.[37]

While thus precluded from exercising any direct influence upon the negotiations, the Presbyterians of Scotland took

[36] The Laws and Acts passed in Queen Anne's Parliament. Third session. IV. Act for a Treaty with England, Sept. 21, 1705.

[37] "There was no attempt to represent the Scots Church; while, according to ancient etiquette, the two archbishops were appointed on the English side. But however this might be disliked in Scotland, it was not consistent with the avowed claims of the Scots establishment, to acknowledge, by representation in such a secular body, its power to affect her position."—Dr J. H. Burton, 'The Hist. of Scot.,' chap. lxxxvi. vol. viii. p. 117. Sec. ed.

means of their own to let their voice be heard and their wishes known. Action was taken by the Commission of Assembly. This representative body drew up and presented to the Duke of Queensberry, her Majesty's High Commissioner, and to the right honourable the Estates of Parliament, a "humble Address and Petition." In this document, while gratefully acknowledging the security given that the Union Commissioners would not treat of or concerning any alteration of the worship, discipline, and government of the Church of the kingdom, the ecclesiastical body urge that something stronger and even more assuring than this negative guarantee should be forthcoming. It is accordingly supplicated that there be a ratifying and confirming of previous Acts of Parliament bearing upon the Confession of Faith, with an express provision and declaration "that the true Protestant Religion contained therein, *with the purity of worship presently in use in this Church*, . . . shall remain and continue unalterably." [38]

To the desire of the Presbyterians of Scotland thus expressed the Scottish Parliament gave courteous and satisfying effect. For before the Treaty of Union was brought up for ratification there was passed a separate enactment in which the ingenuity of draftsmen and the resources of the English language were alike taxed to convey an assurance of security to the upholders of the Protestant religion and the Presbyterian polity. After recapitulating what had already been secured by Act of Parliament, this important legislative measure provided "that the Universities and Colleges of *St Andrews*, *Glasgow*, *Aberdeen*, and *Edinburgh* . . . shall continue within this kingdom for ever," that all professors, principals, regents, masters and other officials, shall not only own and acknowledge the civil government, but also consent to the Confession of Faith "as the Confession of their Faith, and that they will practise and conform themselves to the Worship presently in

[38] 'The History of the Union.' By Daniel De Foe. London : 1786. Part ii. No. B, pp. 608-610.

Use in this Church, and submit themselves to the Government and Discipline thereof, and never endeavour, directly or indirectly, the Prejudice or Subversion of the same." The measure also provided that every successor of her Majesty, at his or her accession to the throne, shall "Swear and Subscribe, that they shall inviolably Maintain and Preserve the foresaid Settlement of the true Protestant Religion, with the Government, Worship, Discipline, Right and Privileges of this Church as above Established by the Laws of this Kingdom, in prosecution of the Claim of Right." [39]

By the middle of January 1707, all discussion and adjustment of the Articles of Union had been concluded so far as Scotland was concerned; and on the 16th of that month a final division was taken. When it was put to the vote—"Approve of the Act ratifying and approving the treaty of Union of the two kingdoms of Scotland and England, yea or not"—it carried approve by one hundred and ten votes to sixty-nine.

The Union under one Name, Crown and Parliament, became an accomplished fact in February 1707, when the English Parliament passed into law what had obtained the approval of both kingdoms. The terms in which this is declared present a model of compactness and of brevity; but short and condensed though they be, the rights of the Church of Scotland are not passed over in silence. The concise clause enacting the twenty-five articles of the Union Treaty was in these words: "That all and every the said Articles of Union as ratified and approved by the Act of Parliament of Scotland, and also the Act of Parliament for establishing the Protestant religion and Presbyterian church government within the Kingdom, intituled, 'Act for securing the Protestant religion and Presbyterian church government,' and every clause,

[39] The Laws and Acts passed in Queen Anne's Parliament. Fourth session. VI. Act for securing the Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Church Government, January 16, 1707.

matter, and thing in the said Articles and Act contained, shall be, and the said Articles and Act are hereby for ever ratified, approved of, and confirmed."

It was on the occasion of this completion of the Union negotiations being before the House of Lords that a dignitary of the Church of England gave utterance to a sentiment which it is gratifying to meet with and pleasing to record. When several peers and prelates had spoken very strongly against ratifying, approving, and confirming the Act for securing the true Protestant religion and Presbyterian church government in Scotland, Denison, the Archbishop of Canterbury, interposed with the remark that he had no scruple against said ratifying, approving, and confirming within the bounds of Scotland, that he thought the narrow notions of all Churches had been their ruin, and that he believed the Church of Scotland to be as true a Protestant church as the Church of England, though he could not say it was so perfect."[40]

Upon the 6th of March the Sovereign of the two kingdoms came to the English House of Lords, and by uttering a few words of legal French phraseology gave the royal assent to the Constitution of the United Kingdom, thus settling "with the unyielding rigidity of an English statute that State project which had been the object of speculation and desire for a century, and had for some years past held at the utmost stretch of anxiety, and at the hardest intellectual labour, the chief statesmen of the day."[41]

The ecclesiastics in Scotland were, as a body, opposed at the outset of the negotiations to the union thus consummated, no less than were other classes of the community. By the *quondam* Episcopal but now conforming incumbents, all of them staunch Jacobites, union with England was naturally

[40] 'State Papers and Letters addressed to William Carstares.' Edited by Dr M'Cormick. Edinb.: 1774. Pp. 759, 760.

[41] Dr J. H. Burton, 'The Hist. of Scot.,' chap. lxxvii. vol. viii. p. 197. Sec. ed.

dreaded as fatal to any prospect of a restoration of the house of Stuart to the throne, and so of a re-establishing of Prelacy. To the extreme left Presbyterian wing, which condemned the Revolution Settlement as unsatisfactory because containing no recognition of Covenanting obligations and attainments, the prospect of union was abhorrent because certain to injure the sanctity and weaken the hold of perpetually binding obligations; while among the more moderate Presbyterians closer connection with Episcopal England was regarded with apprehension, if not suspicion, the fear being that the larger Church of the south would seek to assimilate the government and ritual of the numerically smaller body to her own.

As, however, it became the more manifest, the further negotiations advanced, that every possible precaution was being taken to place the Presbyterian Church of Scotland as by law established outside the range of union arrangements, and to safeguard at every point her constitution and organisation, the majority of Presbyterian ministers became reconciled to the prospect, and ere long gave their support to the movement in favour of union not federal but incorporating.[42]

The apprehension of trouble and encroachment from England, although allayed for the time being, was only dormant, and had an unhappy and mischievous quickening given to it in 1709 through what is known as the case of Mr James Greenshields.

A native of Scotland and son of an Episcopal clergyman,

[42] The change of attitude was largely owing to the sagacious leading of Carstares. "It was perfectly well understood, both by the Queen and her ministry, that, if the Presbyterian clergy had stated themselves in formal opposition to the treaty, it could not have taken effect; and they seem to have been fully sensible that the intended remonstrances and complaints of the clergy to Parliament against that measure, were prevented solely by Mr Carstares's influence in the Church."—'Life of Mr William Carstares,' prefixed to 'State Papers and Letters,' p. 75.

"I daresay it will not be easily forgot, what all our great men are very sensible of, that the Union could never have had the consent of the Scotch Parlia-

this person of notoriety out of proportion to his importance or ability, had received prelatic ordination from Bishop Ramsay of Ross in 1694, by which time the bishop had neither civil nor ecclesiastical status.

Soon after admission to holy orders Greenshields went to Ireland, where he held a curacy first in the diocese of Down and afterwards in that of Armagh. He returned to Scotland in the beginning of 1709, bringing with him testimonials from several Irish ecclesiastics, and also certification that he had taken the oaths to Government, was loyal to the Throne, had conformed to the established order alike in Church and State, and that his manner of living was in harmony with his ministerial profession.[43]

In Edinburgh Greenshields formed acquaintance with several English families, Government appointments having brought them to Scotland subsequent to the Union; and his intercourse with these led to his conducting services according to the forms of the Church of England, first in a room in the Canongate, then in a house at the city cross, part of which he fitted up as a chapel, and lastly in another house situated in a less public part of the town.

This procedure coming to the knowledge of the Edinburgh Presbytery through a reference from the session of the College Church,[44] Greenshields was cited to appear within the Old

ment, if you had not acted the worthy part you did."—Unsubscribed Letter to Carstares from some English Minister of State. Ibid., p. 76.

[43] De Foe's description of Greenshields is manifestly prejudiced and unsubstantiated. According to the historian of the Union, the Scoto-Irish curate was a Jacobite tool who lived upon £15 a-year in Ireland, and who came over to Edinburgh "to mend his commons." Found to be "a person of prostituted morals, a large stock in the face, and ready if well paid to do their work," his party "promise him fourscore pounds a year."—Preface to 'History of the Union,' p. 19. If the income of the Irish clergyman was no more than De Foe states, he might well seek to "mend his commons," seeing he had to maintain not only himself but also a wife and seven children.

[44] "The kirk-session of the north-east parish of Edinburgh, called commonly the College Kirk, presented this new innovator to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who accordingly cited him before them."—Ibid., p. 22.

Church of the city.[45] He compeared, produced his certificate of ordination and credentials to show that he was "a presbyter according to the rites and usages of the Church of Scotland," but declined to acknowledge the authority of the local church or presbytery.[46]

Disallowing his declinature and protestation, the Presbytery tried him upon and found him guilty of three charges: first, declining their authority; second, exercising the office of the ministry without their cognisance and sanction; third, introducing "a form of worship contrary to the purity and uniformity of the worship of this Church established by law." They proceeded to prohibit him from exercising any part of ministerial function within their bounds, and thereafter they applied "to the Magistrates of Edinburgh to render their sentence effectual." Mr Greenshields' next appearance was in the new council chamber, where by the magistrates he was prohibited and discharged to preach or exercise any part of his ministerial function "within the bounds and liberties of the good town of Edinburgh, with certification that" transgression of the prohibition would bring upon him imprisonment in the Tolbooth and such other punishments as they might think fit to inflict. Having on the following Sunday officiated in his meeting-house and used the Book of Common Prayer, he was again called before the civic authorities, who, upon his admission that he had "preached and performed Divine Service publickly upon Sabbath last," "ordained him

[45] In the "Summonds given by the Presbytery's Officer to Mr James Greenshields," he is styled "a pretended Preacher," and is required to compear in order "to give an account of yourself, you being a Stranger here, and presuming at your own Hand without the Authority of any predicatory to exercise the Office of the Holy Ministry publickly on the Lord's Day, and convening people to hear you."—'A True State of the Case of the Reverend Mr Greenshields, now Prisoner in the Tolbooth in Edinb.,' &c. London: 1710. A copy of this scarce publication is in the library of the New College, Edinburgh.

[46] "He told them, he had in a Christian manner given them satisfaction that he was no Vagabond; and that since it was plain by his Credentials he was *a Minister of the Communion of the Church of England*, he conceived, as such, he was not subject to their Jurisdiction."—Ibid., pp. 7, 28.

to go to the Prison and Tolbooth of this City, therein to remain, ay and while he found caution that he should desist from the exercise of his ministry within this City, Liberties and Privileges, in all time coming, or else that he should remove himself therefrom."

After an imprisonment of wellnigh two months, during which his health became impaired and his large family was reduced to straits, Greenshields applied to the Lords of Council and Session for his liberation by presenting a bill of suspension.

By this court of appeal, however, the sentence of the magistrates was on two several occasions confirmed, the ground taken being that "no minister ordained by an exauctorated [47] [deprived] bishop has true ordination,"—one Lord of Session affirming that such a so-called bishop had "no more power to ordain a minister than a ballad-cryer in the streets," and another occupant of the bench comparing the deposed ecclesiastic to a cashiered colonel or captain of horse giving commissions to subalterns. Failing in both applications to the Court of Session, the prisoner in the Tolbooth made his final appeal to the British House of Lords. Before the Lords gave their judgment the Edinburgh magistrates had released the appellant, but not before he had been seven months in confinement. After some delay, caused in part by efforts to get the case settled out of court, the appeal was heard, and on the 1st of March 1711 the sentence of the magistrates and the sustaining of the Court of Session were reversed, and the municipal authorities were found liable in costs.[48]

The wide-reaching influence of this first decision of the British House of Peers in an appeal case from Scotland is only perceived when it is viewed as making way for, and

[47] "*To* EXAUCTORATE [*exauctero*, Lat.] 1. To dismiss from service. 2. To deprive of a benefice."—Dr S. Johnson's Dictionary.

[48] "The city of Edinburgh [was] ordain'd to pay swinging costs to Mr Greenshields."—'The Lockhart Papers,' p. 348.

leading up to, the passing of the Toleration Act in the following year.

Bearing in its title to be "An Act to prevent the disturbing of those of the Episcopal Communion in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, in the exercise of their religious worship and in the use of the Liturgy of the Church of England; and for repealing the Act passed in the Parliament of Scotland, intituled 'An Act against irregular Baptisms and Marriages'," this legislative measure of the United Kingdom declared it to be "free and lawful for all those of the Episcopal communion in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, to meet and assemble for the exercise of divine worship, to be performed after their own manner by pastors ordained by a Protestant bishop, and who are not established ministers of any church or parish, and to use in their congregations the Liturgy of the Church of England, if they think fit, without any let, hindrance, or disturbance from any person whatsoever." One thing the Act required alike of "the Ministers of the Established Church and the Episcopal clergy"—viz., that they "should be obliged to take and subscribe the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, and that, during Divine Service, they should pray for the queen's Majesty, the Princess Sophia of Hanover, and all the royal family."

The Church of Scotland did everything in her power to prevent this measure passing into law. A deputation, headed by William Carstares, then Principal of Edinburgh University, was sent to London, and interviewed the Prime Minister and as many members of Parliament as they could approach.[49] By the General Assembly, when it met in May 1712, approval was given to two representations that had been made to the

[49] "Since Monday last Mr Carstares and I have been running amongst the members in all parts of the city, endeavouring to show the unaccountableness of the same; and this day we have been with the Lord Treasurer, who hath promised that some of the most effectual means shall be used towards accomplishing our desire."—'Letters of Thomas Blackwell.' Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. i. p. 198.

Queen by the Scotch Commissioners. In these documents expression is given to the surprise and distress with which Scottish Presbyterians heard of a bill being before Parliament offering "such a large and almost boundless toleration," and imploring her Majesty "to interpose for the relief of this Church, and the maintenance of the present establishment against such a manifest and ruining enactment."[50]

But all opposition to the measure proved ineffectual. Ordered by the Commons to be brought in on the 21st of January 1712, the bill passed that chamber by a large majority on the 7th of February; it was carried with some amendments in the Upper House; and it received the royal assent on the 3d of March.

The Church of Scotland and the magistrates of Edinburgh have been sternly condemned because of their action in the case of Greenshields, and the former has been severely censured for her opposition to the toleration measure. As regards their treatment of the Scoto-Anglican clergyman, it has been called one of intolerance[51] and persecution; and so the reversing of the decision by the House of Lords has been pronounced "most righteous," although, no doubt, giving "deep offence to the great body of the Presbyterians, who could not brook within the bounds of Scotland any form of worship but their own."[52] The opposition to the Act of Toleration has been pronounced such as to show on the part of the State Church "an equal want of wisdom and of charity."[53] Before endorsing these sweeping verdicts, one would do well to have before him the following considerations:—

[50] 'Acts of the General Assembly,' &c., *ut sup.*, pp. 467-471.

[51] "It must be remembered that it was the intolerance of the Church of Scotland and the magistrates of Edinburgh towards Mr Greenshields, the Episcopal minister, that led the English Parliament to measures at once of defence and retaliation."—A. T. Innes, 'The Law of Creeds,' &c., chap. iii. p. 120, n.

[52] 'Ch. Hist. of Scot.' By Prin. John Cunningham. Chap. xxiii. vol. ii. p. 225. Sec. ed.

[53] 'Eccles. Hist. of Scot.' By Prof. Grub. Chap. lxxiv. vol. iii. p. 365.

*First,* In dealing with Mr Greenshields as an ecclesiastical offender, the Edinburgh Presbytery were not dealing with one who claimed to be a conforming Scottish Episcopalian, but with one who persisted in conducting public worship according to the ritual of the Church of England. In the judgment of the official guardians of Presbyterian privilege and worship-purity, this was a violation of the Revolution Settlement and the basis of Union—it was, as they termed it, the bringing in "a form of worship contrary to the purity and uniformity of the worship established by law."

We may be familiar with a state of matters in which various Churches coexist in the same kingdom, mutually tolerant of each other, the State Church not considering the toleration extended to the unendowed or dissenting Churches to be an infringement of its privileges; but such a situation of affairs was foreign to the thoughts of Scottish churchmen in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

For such men there was but one Church, one government—"the only government," as expressed in parliamentary language—and one ritual. All legislation from the Revolution onwards went, in their judgment, to render it impossible that any one could conduct public worship in Scotland who had not signed the Confession of Faith, acknowledged Presbyterian government to be the only possible form "of Christ's Church within this kingdom," and had not undertaken to observe "the uniformity of worship as at present performed and allowed within this Church." Mr Greenshields could not comply with these conditions, and never professed to have done so. It was to no purpose, in the judgment of his ecclesiastical judges, that he argued in favour of Acts of Parliament establishing uniformity of worship being restricted in their operation to the Presbyterian Church "within herself," and not made applicable to "those who are without"; that Acts against innovations in worship secured the Church of Scotland from having such "imposed upon her," but were not in-

consistent with another form of worship being used by others out of her communion. The obvious answer to that line of defence was a denial of the relevancy of the distinction between those within and those without the National Church, —a denial that there could be any form of worship permitted in the case of those who were within the kingdom, but claimed to be outside the Church of Scotland.

This way of reasoning may be bad legally while good ecclesiastically, or it may be bad any way it is taken; it may now be condemned as narrow, intolerant, and quite unworkable; but it was the only way of reasoning open at the time to those churchmen, Carstares of toleration and moderation included, who found Greenshields guilty of intrusion, contumacy, and innovating, and who protested against the passing of the Toleration Bill as involving a breach of the constitution, and an outrage upon the Church of State recognition and enactment.

*Second*, In judging the line taken both in the individual case and the legislative measure with which it was followed up, there ought to be a bearing in mind how largely politics had to do with the ecclesiastical life of the times.

Neither James Greenshields, "late minister at the church of Tynan in Ireland," as he designated himself, nor those members of the Church of England residing in Edinburgh who invited and secured him "to preach and read prayers to them after the form of the Church of England," might be persons of any importance. Their doings might not be worthy of notice on the part of such bodies as Presbytery, Town Council, Court of Session, or House of Lords. But from an early stage of the case it was manifest that advantage was being taken of it by those who were not favourably disposed to the established order of things either in Church or State, but would gladly welcome a counter-revolution in both. Daniel De Foe is not an authority to be implicitly trusted, his narrative being too much coloured with party

prejudice and political antipathies; but in this matter the insight of the realistic writer of fiction was not at fault when he asserted that Greenshields was the tool of the Jacobite party then plotting for the restoration of the exiled family; that tolerating Episcopacy in Scotland meant tolerating Jacobitism; and that the attempt to introduce the Book of Common Prayer was founded, not upon conscientious convictions entirely or mainly, but largely upon a political design to embroil the Presbyterians of Scotland with the Government.[54] This view of De Foe is borne out by the admissions of one who stood at the opposite pole from the author of the 'History of the Union between England and Scotland'—George Lockhart of Carnwath, compiler of 'Memoirs and Commentaries upon the Affairs of Scotland.' The historical vision of this bitter and unscrupulous partisan is so distorted that his account of any matter calling for delicate discrimination is next to worthless. He may, however, be safely trusted to give a correct version of party movements with which he himself was mixed up, and in which he took a leading part. Now, the avowed proposer of the Toleration Bill[55] makes no secret of the fact that the supporters of that measure wished nothing so much as to see Episcopacy

[54] See 'Hist. of the Union.' Pref., pp. 19-22, 27, 28. In a Representation by the inhabitants of Edinburgh called forth by Greenshields' "Service-book Worship," and given by De Foe, "several of the Episcopal Clergy" are affirmed to be "prompted and instigated by the Jacobite party, who are equally disaffected to the civil as to the ecclesiastical constitution. "We conceive," state the petitioners, "that by these illegal and unwarrantable incroachments, intrusions, and innovations, they design no less than the ruin of both Church and State; . . . and the instigators to, and abettors of, these practices are in big hopes, and not without too good and evident grounds, that this will prove an effectual mean of alienating the hearts and affections of many of our Queen's best and most loyal subjects from her Majesty's Person and the present Establishment, and that by this means they shall effectually wound and weaken the Church on both sides, and also ruin the civil government."—Ibid., pp. 20, 21.

[55] "After we" (the five Scots who had contracted "a close and intimate friendship and correspondence") "had thus established our interest, we came next to think of the measures we were to prosecute, and I proposed that

restored in Scotland; and that when, that move having received parliamentary and royal sanction, a bill to restore patronages was carried after a similar fashion and with similar success, the delight of the promoters was great, all the more so when it was known how deep was "the mortification of the Scots Presbyterians and the Whig party."[56] These things were not unknown in Scotland, and the knowledge of them undoubtedly influenced the churchmen of the day in the action they took in endeavouring to suppress the irrepressible Mr Greenshields, and to arrest the passing of the insidious Toleration Bill.[57]

These considerations being duly weighed, the question whether the action of the Church of the majority was wise and politic or the reverse may be fairly discussed. When it is so, the conclusion reached by those who share in nineteenth-century ideas of what is tolerant, catholic, and charitable will doubtless be that the policy of the Church of the Revolution and the Union was both intolerant and impolitic. It would have been to their credit had the Edinburgh Presbytery left Mr Greenshields undisturbed in possession of his meeting-house and in the use of his Prayer-book, and advantageous for all interests concerned had the advice tendered by a well-wisher in London been given effect to.

we shou'd move for a bill to tolerate the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland."—"Memoirs and Commentaries upon the Affairs of Scotland." 'The Lockhart Papers,' vol. i. pp. 338, 339.

[56] Ibid., p. 385.

[57] "The toleration of Episcopalians and the restoration of patronage were both advocated by the party to which [Lord] Oxford owed his power; and advocated for the sole purpose of regaining their lost ascendency to the Episcopalians and Jacobites of Scotland. . . . The knowledge of these designs, and of their real bearing, lay at the root of the strenuous opposition offered by Carstares and his friends to the Toleration and Patronage Acts. . . . The religious and political interests were again inextricably interwoven; and behind the shield of toleration of Episcopal worship, the bigotry and monarchical fanaticism of the Jacobites strove to inflict a fatal wound on the rights secured to Scotland by the Revolution."—'William Carstares.' By Dr R. H. Story. London: 1874. Chap. xviii. p. 328.

Writing to Principal Carstares from Whitehall in August 1709, Mr Robert Pringle pointed out to his correspondent the impossibility of dealing with those Episcopalian dissenters in Scotland who took the oaths and swallowed the tests in any way different from that adopted towards dissenters in England; that the more done in the direction of opposition and suppression the more closely would they be drawn to their friends in England, so that the less notice taken of those who affected the English ritual the better.[58]

From these matters of Church and State settlement and policy we turn to the judicial proceedings of the Church of Scotland in regard to the conduct of public worship during the period now under review.

From various injunctions and recommendations of the Supreme Court issued in the earlier years of the century, it can be gathered that there existed a desire to see the services of the sanctuary conducted in an orderly and seemly fashion. In 1705 the General Assembly "seriously recommends to all ministers and others within this National Church the due observation of the Directory for the Public Worship of God, approven by the General Assembly held in the year 1645."[59]

[58] 'State Papers and Letters addressed to William Carstares,' pp. 772-774.

[59] 'Acts of the General Assembly,' &c., *ut sup.* "Recommendation concerning the Observation of the Directory for Worship," p. 387. Five years later Wodrow had some friendly intercourse with the Rev. Patrick Simson of Renfrew, one of the outed ministers of the Restoration. The latter had, at the June Communion in 1710, so far innovated upon what was then use and wont, that "after the Tables wer over," he "fell a discoursing, and gave some directions; and, advising them to be much in prayer, commended the Lord's Prayer, and concluded, they say, with it."—Wodrow's 'Analecta,' vol. i. p. 287. Simson's own version of the incident was this: "That after the Tables, he took occasion to observe that there wer three things that had Christ's name particularly given them: The Lord's Day, and the Lord's Supper, and the Lord's Prayer. After he had spoken a while on the former two, he spoke a litle upon the use of the Lord's Prayer, and first repeated it, and then prayed over the different petitions, with pretty large enlargments upon each of them." For acting as he had done the venerable divine gave this pathetic vindication: "For severall dayes before his Communion he had a strong impression on his spirit, once before he dyed, to testify his communion with the whole Christian

Eight years thereafter, the same Court, with a view to "the more decent performance of the public praises of God," issued a recommendation to presbyteries "to use endeavours to have such schoolmasters chosen as are capable to teach the common tunes; and that Presbyteries take care that children be taught to sing the said common tunes; and that the said schoolmasters not only pray with their scholars, but also sing a part of a psalm with them, at least once every day."[60] In 1746 the recommendation as to children being instructed in psalmody by their teachers is repeated; but on this occasion it is coupled with one of an interesting character bearing upon household worship—"The General Assembly do recommend to private families, that in their religious exercises,

Church, by the publick using of the Lord's Prayer: That he was nou 82 years, and many of the young Ministers might have it to say that they never heard this Prayer made use of by the old men, and make this a further excuse for the totall disuse of it; which he thought was a fault, though he was against the abuse of it."—Ibid., p. 297. In the course of their conversation the patriarch of Renfrew gave this piece of information to his interviewer: "At the Assembly, . . . when Sir Heu Campbell of Calder's book upon this [use of the Lord's Prayer in public worship] came out, there was a Committy of Ministers that considered the matter, . . . and, considering the times, judged it proper to end in a generall recommendation of the Assembly's Directory, by that Assembly, which was all they did."—Ibid. Although the exact date had escaped the recollection of Wodrow, it was evidently the Assembly of 1705 to which his informant referred. The author whom Simson makes mention of was Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor, who had for years agitated in church courts and by private correspondence for a more general return to the Directory rubric in this matter. In a somewhat acrimonious correspondence with Carstares, published in his work, the Principal gives him to understand that the Act of 1705 was passed largely in the interests of his views, and to atone for what, on the authority of an unnamed member "of more than ordinary credit among his brethren," the irate baronet alleged had been done in the Assembly of 1649, but of which no corroborative evidence exists. Sir H. Campbell's book drew forth a work from James Hog, minister at Carnock, under the following title: 'A Casuistical Essay upon the Lord's Prayer, wherein divers important Cases relative to the several Petitions are succinctly stated and answered. To which is subjoin'd, A Letter to a friend, in answer to Sir Hugh Campbel of Calder, and Monsieur d'Espagne, concerning the use thereof.' Edinb.: 1705.

[60] 'Acts of General Assembly,' 1713. "Act and Recommendation for Teaching the Common Tunes," p. 483.

singing the praises of God, they go on without the intermission of reading each line." [61]

But the concern of the Church of Scotland for the praise of the sanctuary took another direction additional to that of sacred music: it manifested itself in endeavours to enlarge the metrical psalmody. At the very time when the Scottish establishment was carefully feeling its way to the adoption of that metrical version of the Psalms which displaced the old rendering of 1565, it gave clear indication of a desire that other passages of Scripture capable of being rendered metrically should be available for public worship. To these Scripture passages outside the Hebrew psalter proper there was given the name "Scriptural Songs." From 1648 onwards several ministers laboured in this department of composition. Among these were Mr Zachary Boyd, author of a translation of 'The Psalmes of David in Meeter'; [62] Mr David Leitch, at one time professor in King's College, Aberdeen; Mr Robert Lowrie, one of the Edinburgh ministers, who afterwards became Bishop of Brechin; and Mr John Adamson, himself a poet, and Principal of Edinburgh University from 1623 till 1653. In the case of no one of these versifiers did the matter go further than a recommendation of Assembly to take pains in the matter, or an appointment of some one deemed competent to revise their "travels" and pronounce judgment as to their quality.[63]

This state of matters continued till after the Revolution;

[61] Ibid., 1746. "Act and Recommendation about the Manner of Singing of Psalms," p. 687.

[62] 'The Psalmes of David in Meeter.' By Mr Zachary Boyd, Preacher of God's Word. The third edition. Printed at Glasgow by George Anderson, Anno 1646.

[63] 'Acts of General Assembly,' 1647, p. 159. Baillie's 'Letters and Journals, vol. iii. p. 554. "Recommends to Mr Johne Adamsone to revise Rowes paraphrase of the Psalmes, and Mr Johne Rowes observationes thereupon, and to have his opinion therof ready for the next Assembly." Edinburgh, 8 Julij 1647, *ante meridiem*.—'General Assembly Commission Records,' 1892, p. 282, and note 1.

but early in the eighteenth century the proposal for an enlarged psalter was revived. In 1706 such action was taken as implies that some progress had already been made. For on the 8th of April in that year there appears on the Assembly's records an "Act and Recommendation concerning the Scripture Songs."

"Having heard and considered an overture, transmitted to them from the Committee for Overtures, to whom it was remitted to consider the reference . . . in relation to the Scriptural Songs," the Assembly recommended "it to the several Presbyteries of this Church to endeavour to promote the use of these Songs in private families within their bounds; . . . and for facilitating the Assembly's work in preparing the said Songs for public use, the Assembly hereby do recommend it to Presbyteries to buy up copies of the said songs; . . . and ordain the report of the committees appointed by the Commission of the late Assembly to revise these songs . . . to be printed and transmitted to the several Presbyteries, that they may consider the same, and compare them with the book itself; and the General Assembly recommends it to the said Presbyteries also diligently to compare these songs with the original texts, and to make what further amendments they shall see needful upon the said printed copies of these songs, both as to the translation and metre, keeping always to the original text." [64]

The collection of Scripture songs thus recommended for family and congregational use was the outcome of enforced leisure on the part of Mr Patrick Simson, minister of Renfrew.[65] Simson's work, first published anonymously in 1685, consists of six books, in which the songs are given in the order of the books of the Bible, those of the New Testament

[64] Acts of General Assembly, 1706. "Act and Recommendation concerning the Scripture Songs," pp. 392, 393.

[65] Frequent notices of Simson are to be found in the 'Analecta' of Wodrow, who styles him "the most digested and distinct master of the Scriptures that ever I met with"—vol. ii. p. 305. For condensed account of him see 'The Wodrow Correspondence.' The Wodrow Soc. Three vols. Edinb.: 1842. Vol. i. Letter VIII. addressed "To the Very Rev. Mr Patrick Simson, Minister of the Gospel at Renfrew." Editor's note, pp. 14, 15. See also 'The Scottish Paraphrases,' &c. By D. J. Maclagan. Edinb.: 1889. P. 4.

being followed up with "some other sweet Evangelical passages, meet to be composed into Songs, taken out of John's Gospel and the Epistles." After the metrical renderings of Scripture passages there are six "short Scripture Doxologies subjoined by way of Conclusion to the whole."

The versifier's vindication of his procedure in not keeping within the bounds of Scripture songs, but "putting many more Scriptures into song than were intended for such by the Spirit," will be allowed by all to possess the merit of ingenuity, although to some it may seem lacking in force of Scriptural warrant. As advanced in his preface, the vindication is substantially this: The composer is not sure that it was the design of the Spirit to confine the Church entirely to the Psalms of David, seeing the use of psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs is enjoined in the Word; he sees no reason why we should not be allowed to "take of the Lord's own stuff, as well for singing as for praying, and other holy uses, especially those evangelical purposes that are not so fully or clearly exprest in the psalms and other Scripture songs;" this is simply an experiment to ascertain "how other sweet Scriptures will go, being put into songs;" "when it shall be thought fit (as once was intended by this Church) to adjoin the rest of the Scriptural songs to the books of Psalms, for publick use, and an approved paraphrase shall be framed or pitched on for that purpose, it may be considered how many" of this collection "are to be reckoned of that number,"—a point the compiler modestly declines to determine.[66]

Simson's compilation was taken in hand for purposes of revision by two committees—an eastern or Edinburgh, and a western or Glasgow one. After subjecting the volume to separate examination, the two bodies of reviewers met together and agreed upon a joint report to the effect that only such as are "purely Scriptural Songs" should be recom-

[66] For full title of Simson's work and specimens of his versification see 'The Scot. Paraphrases,' *ut sup.*, pp. 4, 5, 10, 11.

mended for public use, seeing if other passages of Scripture were to be turned into metre there would be no limits to the process. The Glasgow committee, which had the benefit of the presence and co-operation of the compiler, specified six-and-twenty pieces selected out of the six books, and at the same time suggested certain amendments, which might either be carried out with the consent of Mr Simson, or be intrusted to some person having "skill of poesie, competent to correct faults found in the metre."

It was upon this joint report that the Assembly of 1706 took the action already stated.

In the following year, on the same day that the "Act against Innovations" was passed, a decision was come to by the Assembly concerning the Spiritual Songs. Finding that a very small number of Presbyteries had sent in remarks, and that in the judgment of such as had done so the collection was not ready for public use, the Assembly remitted the matter back to the inferior courts, with an injunction "to be careful yet to revise the said Songs, and transmit their opinions thereanent to the next Assembly;" and also appointed "those who were nominated by the Commission of the late General Assembly to revise these Songs at Edinburgh, yet to meet, and again revise the same and report."[67] By another year the Church felt warranted in taking a step in advance; for on the 27th of April 1708 the Assembly authorised their Commission, having examined the Scripture Songs in the light of presbyterial criticism, "to conclude and establish that version, and to publish and emit it for the public use of the Church, as was formerly done on the like occasion, and when our version of the Psalms was published in the year 1649."[68]

[67] 'Acts of General Assembly,' *ut sup.*, April 21, 1707, p. 419.

[68] Ibid., p. 430. "And seeing there are many copies of the said version lying on the author's hand, it is recommended to ministers and others to buy the same for private use in the meantime."

The Commission, however, would seem not to have acted upon the powers with which they were invested, probably deterred from doing so by the lack of interest shown in the matter over the Church generally. An appeal made at midsummer to the several Synods of the Church that they would "nominate some of their ministers best acquainted with the original languages and knowing in poesy" to assist the Commission in this "matter of great moment," was found by the 2d of December to have elicited no response. An extension of the time specified did not better matters greatly, for on the 2d of March 1709 all that could be produced were two sets of remarks—one from the Presbytery of Ross, and the other from that of Kirkcudbright. Evidently the Scriptural or Spiritual Songs of the Rev. Patrick Simson had failed to interest the Church at large, and were not destined to find a place in the praise of the Scottish Church as so much "good matter in a song"; and the ecclesiastical courts wisely desisted from any further attempts to bring them into public use." [69]

For thirty-two years no further action was taken in the way of adding to the Scottish psalmody. In 1741, however, when the business of the Assembly was drawing to a close, and the 133d Psalm was about to be sung, an overture was brought forward "about turning some passages of the Old and New Testament into metre, in order to be used in churches as well as in families." [70] In view of the lateness of the hour, all that could be done was to refer the matter to the Commission, with instructions to consider it, to "take the assistance of learned divines who have employed their time and pains on subjects of that sort, and report their opinion to the next Assembly." That Assembly, on the subject being brought up, nominated

[69] The Spiritual Songs were reprinted at Aberdeen in 1757, from which circumstance Mr W. L. Taylor, Peterhead, infers the above recommendation had been obtempered. The writer of them lived to be the Father of the Church of Scotland, and died October 24, 1715, aged eighty-eight.

[70] The Rev. N. Morren's 'Annals of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.' Two vols. Edinb.: 1838. Year 1741, p. 26.

a committee composed of ministers in and about Edinburgh "to make a collection of *translations* into English verse or metre, of passages of the Holy Scriptures; or receive in performances of that kind, from any who shall transmit them.[71]

For two years little or nothing was done, 1743 being a blank so far as fresh action was concerned, and the Assembly of 1744 simply reappointing "the Committee on Psalmody" with the addition of several names.[72]

But an important stage in the history of the Paraphrases was reached in the months of May and July 1745. In the earlier of these months, when the committee gave in their annual report to the Supreme Court, two questions were raised and discussed. The first was one of competency, "with respect to the Assembly's authorising translations or paraphrases of passages of Scripture to be used in public." A small committee appointed to inspect the records for precedents contented themselves with adducing the deliverances of four Assemblies, beginning with that of 1706, and ending with that of 1742. This seems to have satisfied the Assembly on the constitutional issue raised.[73] The other question was one of phraseology. How should any collection be designated? After some discussion, and not without alterations upon the original draft, the overture to be sent down to Presbyteries was thus cautiously entitled, "Act and Overture about some pieces of Sacred Poesy;" and the overture itself was thus carefully worded: "The General Assembly had laid before

[71] Ibid., 1742, pp. 34, 35.

[72] By the addition of five ministers and four elders the committee reached a membership of thirty-one. One of the five ministers was Mr Patrick Cuming, the first leader of the Moderate party. He was appointed "moderator" or convener of committee, in which capacity he wrote a letter to the Presbytery of Dundee informing the members that his committee "had met upon the rising of the Assembly, and appointed him to write a letter to all the Presbyteries of Scot. desiring that if any of their members should have such composures [passages of Scripture paraphrased or translated into verse] they would transmit them to Mr M'Intosh at the Society's Hall against Nov. next."—"Extract Minutes of Presbyteries." Maclagan's 'Scottish Paraphrases,' p. 184.

[73] Morren's 'Annals,' 1745, vol. i. p. 70.

them, by their committee, some pieces of sacred poesy, under the title of Translations and Paraphrases of several Passages of Sacred Scripture, composed by private persons; and though the Assembly have not sufficient time to consider these poems maturely, so as to approve or disapprove of them, yet they judge the same may be printed; and do remit the consideration of them to the several Presbyteries, in order to their transmitting their observations to the next General Assembly, that they, or any subsequent Assembly, may give such orders about the whole affair as they shall judge for edification; and the Assembly appoint this their resolution to be prefixed to the impression." [74]

Then in July 1745 there issued from the press of the printers to the Church the first edition of the Scottish Paraphrases, purporting to be "TRANSLATIONS and PARAPHRASES of SEVERAL PASSAGES OF SACRED SCRIPTURE collected and prepared by a COMMITTEE appointed by the General Assembly of the Church of SCOTLAND and by the Act of Last General Assembly, transmitted to Presbyteries for their Consideration." [75]

This pioneer volume, now rarely to be met with, is of small bulk and of unpretending appearance. It contains only forty-five pieces, and these are not arranged in any apparent order, certainly not according to the order of the books of the Bible. Three of the compositions have, in addition to the customary statement of the canonical book and chapter, and the verses of which they are metrical renderings, a title prefixed intimating that they are respectively "The Song of Mary," "The Song of Simeon," and "The Lord's Prayer."

The examining of forty-five metrical versions of Scripture passages need not have proved, one would think, a very for-

[74] 'Acts of the General Assembly,' May 18, 1745, p. 681.

[75] "EDINBURGH Printed by ROBERT FLEMING and COMPANY Printers to the Church of Scotland MDCCXLV." For particulars of what goes before and what comes after title-page of this very rare edition see Maclagan's 'Scottish Paraphrases,' p. 53.

midable matter, and it must be held as indicative either of lack of interest in, or of decided opposition to, the introduction of anything additional to the "Psalms of David in metre," that for thirty-six years subsequent to 1745 the matter, as often as it came before an Assembly, was remitted to the committee, with instructions to bring up a report next year. In 1751 a little variety was imparted to the finding of the Supreme Court by a recommendation being added that, in the meantime, the new Psalmody be used in private families.[76] But other twenty-four years elapsed before any progress was made in obtaining for the Translations and Paraphrases the imprimatur of the highest judicatory, and sanction for their use in public worship. Then, in 1775, an overture was transmitted from the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr making this explicit and alternative request—either that permission be granted to "such ministers as find it for the edification of their respective congregations to use the Translations and Paraphrases, or that the Venerable Assembly take the proper steps necessary for introducing them into the public worship."[77] Once more the process was entered upon of appointing a committee, of that committee reporting, of the Assembly remitting to Presbyteries, with an occasional strengthening the committee by the addition of new members.[78]

As time went on the language of the committee in craving judicial action became more urgent, more insistent. Thus they reported in 1778 that, from a large number of paraphrases transmitted to them, they had made a selection which commended itself to the majority of their number, and that

[76] Extract Minutes of the General Assembly, in Maclagan's 'Scottish Paraphrases,' p. 170.

[77] Ibid., p. 171.

[78] On that committee appear such names as these: Dr Patrick Cuming, Dr Alexr. Carlyle, Dr Joseph McCormick, Dr Alexr. Webster, Principal Robertson, Dr Hugh Blair, Mr John Logan, Mr Samuel Martin, John Home, Esq., Prof. Andrew Dalyell, Prof. George Hill. In 1780, among the nine names added to the list appears that of "Sir Henry Moncreiff."

now they had small hope of making any serviceable additions to what they laid upon the table of the Assembly.

In 1779 the committee, styled one "to prepare a proper enlargement of the public psalmody," pled that either the selection submitted last year be printed and transmitted to Presbyteries for their judgment as to the propriety of authorising its use in public worship, or that the committee be continued for another year in the hope of making additions which might render it more complete. In the pursuance of its Fabian policy the Assembly adopted the latter alternative, and "renewed the said committee."

After another year of delay those who were pressing for the enlarged psalmody secured a deliverance which, if not in all respects satisfactory, in part at least gave them their desire.

On the 26th of May 1781 the committee inform the Assembly that they have now prepared such a collection of Sacred Poems as they think may be submitted to the judgment of the Church; that the said collection has been printed, and is ready to be delivered to members by the clerks; and that, if the Assembly would be pleased to reappoint this committee, adding a few of the members of Assembly to revise the publication and to report their opinion to a future diet, the committee flatter themselves the Assembly might then be enabled to come to a resolution which would give general satisfaction to the Church.

This suggestion was acted upon. On the 1st of June 1781 the Assembly passed an "Interim Act anent the Psalmody." At the outset of this finding the opinion of the Assembly's own committee is given, to the effect "That the Venerable Assembly should in the meantime allow this Collection of Sacred Poems to be used in public Worship in congregations where the Minister finds it for Edification." After the opinion of the committee comes the judgment of the Assembly in these words: "Appoints these Translations and Paraphrases to be transmitted to the Several Presbyteries of the

Church, in order that they may Report their Opinion concerning them to the ensuing General Assembly; and in the meantime, allows this Collection of sacred Poems to be used in Public worship in Congregations where the Minister finds it for Edification." [79]

This interim permission is the only legislative sanction for the use of paraphrases in the worship of the Church of Scotland.

Published in duodecimo form, and consisting of 126 pages, the edition of 1781 has for title: "Translations and Paraphrases in verse of several Passages of SACRED SCRIPTURE Collected and prepared by a Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in order to be sung in Churches." [80] The title-page is followed by an "Advertisement," giving a brief narrative of what had been done to meet "the general sentiment of devout persons that it would be of advantage to enlarge the Psalmody in public worship, by joining with the Psalms of David some other passages of Scripture, both from the Old and the New Testament." The "Advertisement" concludes with the statement: "All the Translations and Paraphrases which had appeared in the former publication are, in substance, retained. But they have been revised with care. Many alterations, and, it is hoped, improvements, are made upon them. A considerable number of new Paraphrases are added. They are all now arranged according to the order in which the several passages of Scripture lie in the Bible; and a few Hymns are subjoined."

The really distinctive features of this recension of the Paraphrases are two in number:—

*First*, The additions made to the collection. By the introduction of twenty-two pieces the number is increased from

[79] A portion of the Act of Assembly, "At Edinburgh, 1st June 1781, Sess. 8," was printed [pp. v, vi] in the 1781 edition. It is given in full by Maclagan, 'The Scot. Paraphrases,' pp. 173, 174.

[80] "Edinburgh Printed and sold by J. Dickson Printer to the Church of Scotland MDCCLXXXI."

forty-five to sixty-seven, not including the five appended hymns.

Among the twenty-two additions are such well-known Paraphrases as the 8th, "Few are thy days, and full of woe"; the 15th, "As long as life its term extends"; the 30th, "Come, let us to the Lord our God with contrite hearts return"; the 35th, "'Twas on that night"; the 53d, "Take comfort, Christians"; and the 58th, "Where high the heavenly temple stands."

It was the eleventh verse of the first of these additions which Dr John Duncan singled out when, as recorded in the 'Colloquia Peripatetica,' drawn to speak upon Scotch Psalms and Paraphrases. "There is," remarked the Professor, "fine poetry in some of our Scotch paraphrases.

> 'So days, and years, and ages past,
> descending down to night,
> Can henceforth never more return
> back to the gates of light.'

That is very fine poetry. But it was born in Hellas, and never visited Judæa. Now we are to sing the songs of *Sion*. 'Gates of light'! I begin to think of Aurora, fair daughter of the dawn! On the whole, I prefer the Psalms to the Paraphrases and Hymns. They call them paraphrases *or translations* [Translations and Paraphrases], and queer translations some of them are. If they had given me translations, I would have let them keep their paraphrases to themselves." [81]

*Second*, The appearance of five hymns following up the sixty-seven paraphrases. All that the compilers of the 1781 collection state as to this tiny group is in the closing sentence of the Advertisement—"a few hymns are subjoined."

The first of the group is one of Addison's, taken from 'The Spectator' for 9th August 1712, one verse being slightly altered and verbal changes being introduced here and there.

[81] 'Colloquia Peripatetica.' By the late JOHN DUNCAN, LL.D. EDINBURGH. MDCCCLXX. P. 6.

The second, also from the pen of the English essayist, occurs in a 'Spectator' article, dated 23d August 1712, entitled "The Confirmation of Faith," and in it the verbal alterations are fewer and slighter than in the first. The third is also Addisonian, being introduced in the 'Spectator' for 18th October 1712 as the composition of a clergyman on his deathbed. The fourth is one of Isaac Watts', whose "Hymns and Spiritual Songs" were published in 1709. In that collection the 72d hymn has for title, "The Lord's Day; or, The resurrection of Christ"; and for opening verse these lines:—

"Bless'd morning, whose young dawning rays
Beheld our rising God;
That saw him triumph o'er the dust,
And leave his last abode."

Not only were there verbal changes made upon this piece before it was placed in the Scottish appendix to the Paraphrases, but a sixth verse was added to the five of which the hymn originally consisted. This additional stanza takes the form of a translation by Nicholas Brady or Nahum Tate of the Gloria Patri or conclusion:—

"To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
the God whom we adore,
Be glory as it was, and is,
and shall be evermore."

The only one of the five appended hymns for which a purely Scottish origin has been claimed is the last, beginning with the verse:—

"The hour of my departure's come;
I hear the voice that calls me home:
At last, O Lord! let trouble cease,
And let thy servant die in peace."

This has been generally attributed to the Rev. John Logan of Leith, although it does not find a place in the poems which he published in the same year as that in which the Church of

Scotland sanctioned and issued "Translations and Paraphrases of several passages of Sacred Scripture."

The colleague minister of South Leith just mentioned took an active part in the enlarging of the Church's psalmody, and was a principal contributor to the collection of 1781. Nevertheless, the endeavour to introduce the paraphrases and hymns into his own parish was attended with not a little friction and opposition, as the following curious extracts from the Session records make evident:—

"*January* 17*th*, 1782.—The Session taking under their consideration the Intimation Mr Logan made from the Pulpit last Lord's Day, that the Additional Psalmody was to be introduced into the public worship, Sabbath next, without consulting either his Colleague or the Session, they apprehend this precipitant manner of introducing it will by no means answer the design of the General Assembly; the Session are unanimously of opinion that it should be deferred for some time untill the Congregation are provided in books. The Session appoint the Clerk to write Mr Logan this evening, and acquaint him of this their resolution."

The receipt of this extract minute drew from the irritable and irate poet the following mandate addressed to the clerk, who was also precentor in South Leith congregation:—

"LEITH, *January* 19*th*, 1782.

"I charge you, Mr Alexander Lindsay, to sing the Psalms or Hymns which are to be read out in the pulpit of South Leith to Morrow; as Session Clerk you are to obey the orders of the Session, as Precentor you are amenable only to the minister who presides in the public worship. If you refuse to comply with this order, I will prosecute you before the Presbytery of Edinburgh for disobedience to the Laws of the Church. (*Signed*) JOHN LOGAN."[82]

Beyond the engrossing of this formidable document in the Session minutes according to orders given at a meeting held on the 14th of February, no further action is chronicled as having been taken on either side.[83]

[82] Maclagan's 'Scottish Paraphrases,' p. 40.

[83] That the introduction of the enlarged Psalmody was more quietly gone

That in other quarters the collection was not regarded with clerical favour is illustrated by the action of the Rev. Dr Samuel Martin of Monimail, Fifeshire. This divine was a member of the Assembly's committee on the paraphrases, and a contributor of one of the sixty-seven in the issue of 1781. His is the paraphrase beginning—

> "Ye indolent and slothful! rise,
> View the ant's labours, and be wise;
> She has no guide to point her way,
> No ruler chiding her delay."

Taking no active share in the work of revision, Dr Martin was disappointed with the production when it appeared, regarded many of the pieces as doctrinally unsound, and never gave them out to be sung either in church or manse.[84]

The student of eighteenth-century life and literature desirous of becoming acquainted with the prevailing character, tastes, and pursuits of its ecclesiastics, so as to form some conception of the religious life of the period, would do well to inform himself regarding the members of the paraphrase committee, and the versifiers whose productions find a place in the book that so grieved the evangelical minister of Monimail.

In the list of the committee he will find names such as those of William Wishart, Principal of the Edinburgh University, and his brother George, for thirty-two years principal Clerk of Assembly; of Patrick Cuming, Professor of Church History and city minister in Edinburgh; of William Robertson of Gladsmuir, afterwards Principal Robertson; of Alexander

about in other parts of the country may appear from what is recorded of Mauchline, in Ayrshire. "There is no notice," writes the late Dr Edgar, "of this important step in any extant minute of kirk-session, but allusion is made to it in a small memorandum-book of the session-clerk. . . . The whole entry regarding the paraphrases in this memorandum-book is, '1806, Feb. 9, began to sing the Paraphrases.'"—'Old Church Life in Scotland,' Lect. ii. p. 82.

[84] Letter from Rev. James Brodie of Monimail (grandson of Dr Martin) in 'Free Church Magazine,' Aug. 1847. Maclagan, *ut sup.*, pp. 41, 42.

Carlyle of Inveresk, "who has made himself so familiarly—some are inclined to think too familiarly—known to us in his 'Autobiography';"[85] and of the author of "Douglas, a Tragedy," at one time the Rev. John Home of Athelstaneford, but after 1757 John Home, Esq.

Among the authors some of whose compositions found a place in the enlarged psalmody of the century, he will read the names of Thomas Blacklock, the blind bard and minister, friend of David Hume, and discoverer of the genius of Robert Burns; Hugh Blair, the popular city preacher and Professor of Rhetoric; his relative, Robert Blair, author of the poem on the Grave; and John Logan, whose bearing towards his colleague, session-clerk, and conductor of psalmody has been already noted, who was claimant to verses, both secular and sacred, not universally acknowledged to be his own, and a writer of tragedies: greater than any he imagined, however, was the tragedy he lived out.

These names are sufficient to call up a school or party in the Church of Scotland, the rise and ascendency of which give special interest to the doings and writings of that much-maligned century,—the party which took as their watchword the term *Moderation*, with the reign of which as a prevailing party in Church courts the people of Scotland have ever associated *Moderatism*.

No man had better opportunity for studying the genius and characteristics of moderatism in its first development than the Rev. Dr John Witherspoon. Born in the manse of Yester, Haddingtonshire, February 5, 1722, ordained minister at Beith, Ayrshire, in 1745, inducted to the charge of the Laigh Church of Paisley in 1757, where he laboured till he entered upon a new career as President of Princeton College, New Jersey, Witherspoon spent the greater part of his ministerial life in close but hostile contact with the moderate

[85] Principal Tulloch in 'St Giles' Lectures. First Series.' 1881. "The Church of the Eighteenth Century," p. 278.

party. He fought them on the floor of the Assembly as the leader of the evangelical opposition, to the discipline of which Principal Robertson paid a generous tribute. He also assailed them in their favourite field of literature, and with such effectiveness that his work is not unworthy of a place of permanency alongside that of Lord Shaftesbury,[86] upon the title and contents of which it is modelled.

It was in 1753 that Dr Witherspoon published anonymously his 'ECCLESIASTICAL CHARACTERISTICS: OR, THE ARCANA OF CHURCH POLICY. BEING AN HUMBLE ATTEMPT TO OPEN THE MYSTERY OF MODERATION. WHEREIN IS SHEWN A PLAIN AND EASY WAY OF ATTAINING TO THE CHARACTER OF A MODERATE MAN, AS AT PRESENT IN REPUTE IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.' Knowing him to be the author, and denouncing the book as "of a very bad tendency to the interests of religion, and injurious to the characters of many ministers of this Church," the Presbytery of Paisley did everything in their power to keep him from becoming one of their number; but the magistrates, town council, and trades of the town, along with the session and seatholders of the Laigh Church, triumphed when the matter came, on appeal, before the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr. Ten years after the appearance of the 'Characteristics,' the author, still preserving his anonymity, published 'A SERIOUS APOLOGY FOR THE ECCLESIASTICAL CHARACTERISTICS. *By the real* AUTHOR *of that Performance.*'

The thirteen maxims of the 'Ecclesiastical Characteristics,' in which the author, professing to be a member of the party he opposed, "enumerates distinctly, and in their proper order and connection, all the several maxims upon which moderate men conduct themselves," form a splendid specimen of the use of irony as a weapon both of refutation and of ridicule. One can understand how bitterly such members of the Paisley Presbytery as were moderates at heart, or were in sympathy

[86] 'Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, and Times.' By Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury. Lond.: 1711. 3 vols.

with the *Moderatism* tendency, would resent the opening maxim dealing thus with heresy: "All ecclesiastical persons, of whatever rank, whether principals of colleges, professors of divinity, ministers, or even probationers, that are suspected of heresy, are to be esteemed men of great genius, vast learning, and uncommon worth; and are, by all means, to be supported and protected;"[87] or the third, in which the treatment of the Confession of Faith by the moderate party is thus described: "It is a necessary part of the character of a moderate man never to speak of the Confession of Faith but with a sneer: to give sly hints that he does not thoroughly believe it: and to make the word *orthodoxy* a term of contempt and reproach;"[88] or, yet again, the fourth, in which the "special marks and signs of a talent for preaching" are employed to indicate a good preacher: "1. His subjects must be confined to social duties. 2. He must recommend them only from rational considerations—viz., the beauty and comely proportions of virtue, and its advantages in the present life, without any regard to a future state of more extended self-interest. 3. His authorities must be drawn from heathen writers, none, or as few as possible, from Scripture. 4. He must be very unacceptable to the common people."[89]

[87] 'The Works of John Witherspoon, D.D.' Edinb.: 1805. Vol. vi. 'Ecclesiastical Characteristics,' Maxim I. p. 155.

[88] Ibid., p. 162.

[89] Ibid., p. 166. Writing of the Glasgow Communion in October 1724, Wodrow describes a sermon preached on the Monday afternoon by Mr Wallace of Moffat. "It was on 'Faith without works is dead,' and in the neu haranging method, and pleased some of the young volage [Fr. *volage*, volatile] sparks, who set up nou mightily for criticks of sermons. For a full half hour he insisted on an introduction about the necessity of trying [enquiring] in matter of religion; and the unaccountablenes of being satisfied with education: and left but a quarter of an hour for his text, where he gave a cold account of faith, as an assent and crediting testimony: and insisted on an inference or two, of the insufficiency of a profession; and that evil works wer worse than evil opinion, . . . and a fling at Confessions, as 'imposed forms of orthodoxy,' or words to that purpose."—'Analecta,' vol. iii. pp. 167, 168. Two months later Wodrow records that when in Glasgow he heard "no good accounts of the students of Divinity there." He is told "that very openly they oppose the

The seventh Maxim of the series is that which describes moderation in relation to public worship, and according to it "a moderate man must endeavour, as much as he handsomely can, to put off any appearances of devotion, and avoid all unnecessary exercises of religious worship, whether public or private." [90] By the time he reaches the close of his work the author professes to have such an admiration of moderation that he proposes the next ensuing General Assembly should be overtured to appoint "that all the professors of divinity in the nation shall lecture one day every week upon this system, that our youth may be trained up from their infancy in a taste for it." This lecturing, he feels persuaded, will be much more profitable than the study of such antiquated systems of divinity as those of Pictet or Turretine; it will prove more adapted to the times than the study even of the writers whom he styles "the more modern authors, Epictetus and Marcus Antoninus, which last, in Mr Foulis's translation," he is given to understand "many young divines, in their first year," have "mistaken for Markii Medulla Theologiæ." [91]

To show how fruitful a subject the delineation of "the moderate character" is, the satirist intimates that he has gathered material for "many useful and edifying treatises," of which the following are specified: "The art of making a flourished sermon with very little matter . . .: one resolution [resolving] of all cases of conscience, from the good of the whole scheme: A Directory for prayer upon the same scheme: The horrid sin and danger of ministers spending too much time in catechising and visiting in country parishes." [92]

What seriousness and earnestness were underlying all this play of sarcasm and employment of irony on the part of the

Confession of Faith," that this is spreading widely among "young merchants and others," and that "the haranguing way of preaching is the only method that is nou in vogue with them. Another tells me, that in open companys, the grace of God is openly mocked and ridiculed."—Ibid., p. 170.

[90] 'Ecclesiastical Characteristics,' *ut sup.*, p. 186.

[91] Ibid., p. 220. [92] Ibid., p. 221.

sturdy opponent of Moderatism can be gathered from the 'Serious Apology,' from among the closing sentences of which the following may be extracted.

Having quoted the Roman maxim, *Nunquam desperandum est de republica*, the author observes: "Nothing is impossible to the power of God. . . . Let no Christian, therefore, give way to desponding thoughts. We plead the cause that shall at last prevail. Religion shall rise from its ruins; and its oppressed state at present should not only excite us to pray, but encourage us to hope for its speedy revival." [93]

Of such a revival as Witherspoon thus prayed and hoped for there never were wanting the promise and the potency within the pale of the Scottish establishment, even when Moderatism was dominant. At the Commission of Assembly in November 1733, by the action of which ecclesiastical court the four fathers of the Secession were declared to be no longer members of the Church of Scotland, and all ministers were forbidden to employ them in any ministerial function, there were seven members who protested against the sentence, and avowed their intention to hold ministerial communion with those whom they styled "their dear brethren," and this "as if no such sentence had been past against them." [94] After both the Secession and the Relief Churches were formed and organised, there were still to be found in the ministry of the Church of Scotland such men as John Maclaurin of Glasgow, the evangelical Joseph Butler of Scotland, ever glorying in the cross of Christ; Dr John Erskine of Edinburgh, "probably," writes Principal William Cunningham, "the greatest divine in the Church of Scotland in the latter part of the last century;" and Erskine's biographer and successor in the leadership of the evangelical forces, Sir Henry Moncreiff

[93] Ibid., p. 284.

[94] The seven were Gabriel Wilson, Maxton; Ralph Erskine, Dunfermline; John Currie, Kinglassie; Thomas Mair, Orwell; James Wardlaw, Dunfermline; John M'Claren, Edinburgh; and Thomas Nairn, Abbotshall.

Wellwood, whose ministry extended to nearly the close of the third decade of the present century.

And there were others in the rank and file of the Scottish ministry who, when Moderatism was the policy of the prevailing party, did good service in maintaining the evangelical succession inside the old Church of Scotland. There was John Currie of Kinglassie, the friend in earlier years of Ralph Erskine, whose signature appeared at the representation and petition to the Assembly, drawn up in 1732, and "relating to the grievances the Church is at present under." There was John Willison of Dundee, best known now, by name at least, as a writer of practical and catechetical treatises, but who, in 1744, drew up "a fair and impartial Testimony, containing Humble Pleadings with our Mother Church to exert herself to stop defection and promote reformation." And there was Robert Riccaltoun of Hobkirk or Hopekirk, in the Presbytery of Jedburgh, to whom pertains the unique distinction of being licensed and ordained without having either studied at a Divinity Hall or passed a Board of Examination, but who nevertheless proved more than a match for Principal Hadow of St Andrews in the Marrow Controversy, and who was, in some respects, one of the most remarkable theologians Scotland has ever produced.[95]

It is obvious, however, that the evangelical party within the Church of the State would have been a greater factor in the maintenance of spiritual life had there not been withdrawn from their ranks those who formed and have perpetuated the Church of the Secession from 1733 and onwards.

The first Seceders, it is never to be forgotten, emphatically and with wonted reiteration denied that they seceded from the communion of the Church of Scotland, or that they had constituted a denomination distinct from the Church written

[95] Full and valuable information regarding Riccaltoun and his writings will be found in 'The Theology of Consolation.' By Rev. D. C. A. Agnew. Edinb.: 1881. Pp. 334-341.

of in the nation's history, and recognised in numerous Acts of its Parliament. They ever affirmed that they formed a part of the historical Church of Scotland, owning all her doctrines, adhering to her government, discipline, and worship. Their secession was only from what they styled "the present prevailing party," who, having got the management into their hands, and the majority on their side, were "breaking down our beautiful Presbyterian constitution."

And so the fathers of the Secession, when they gave forth their Judicial Testimony in 1736, were careful to identify themselves with the Church of the first and second Reformation. Not only did they acknowledge, declare, and assert the presbyterial polity to be "that only form of government laid down and appointed by the Lord Christ in His Word;" but, in particular, they "received and owned the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, the Form of Church government and ordination of ministers, and the Directory for public worship, as the same stand approven by the Assembly of 1645."

Students of ballad and song literature may have met with a set of verses containing a meditation and moralising upon smoking. The piece has been found in a MS. of the time of James I., and also in broadsides of 1670, 1672.[96] Printed in numerous chap-books, and largely circulated both in England and Scotland, the set of verses came into the hands of the Rev. Ralph Erskine of Dunfermline, who thought he could improve the theology of the poem, and, in particular, give a more explicit statement of the divine remedy for human frailty and shortcomings as moralised upon in the song. He accordingly wrote a companion set of verses dealing with "Smoking Spiritualised." Owing to the two parts being published in early editions of his poetry, they are often

[96] Bell's 'Ballads and Songs of the Peasantry of England.' London: 1857. An adaptation of the song is also to be found in D'Urfrey's 'Pills to Purge Melancholy,' 1719.

regarded as the composition of the Dunfermline minister; but in the complete edition of his writings, published in 1825, while both parts are given, the authorship of the two is kept separate.[97] The first verse of each part may here be reproduced, as sufficient to show the style of the original and the skill of the improver:—

*Part I.*

"This Indian weed now withered quite,
Tho' green at noon, cut down at night,
Shows thy decay;
All flesh is hay.
Thus think, and smoke tobacco."

*Part II.*

"Was this small plant for thee cut down?
So was the Plant of Great Renown;
Which mercy sends
For nobler ends.
Thus think, and smoke tobacco."

But Ralph Erskine did not confine his poetical activity to supplementing the deficiencies in the compositions of others. He was a versifier of great fertility and copiousness. In the earlier years of his ministry his chief recreation was the production of religious verses. Originally published anonymously in 1726 under the title of 'Gospel Canticles,' an enlarged collection, with the authorship avowed, appeared in 1734, having 'Gospel Sonnets' for title.

Upon the 18th of February 1737, "at the Kirk of Orwell in Kinross-shire," Mr Ralph Erskine and Mr Thomas Mair were received into the fellowship of the ministers and elders constituting the Associate Presbytery of Seceders.

Soon after becoming a Seceder, Mr Erskine essayed the

[97] "The following Poem, *the second part of which was written by Mr Erskine*, is here inserted to fill up this page, as a proper subject of Meditation to Smokers of Tobacco:—SMOKING SPIRITUALISED: In Two Parts. The First Part being an old Meditation upon smoking Tobacco; the Second a new addition to it, or improvement of it."—Ralph Erskine's 'Complete Works.' Lond.: 1825. Vol. vii. p. 305.

arduous task of giving to the Church "a Paraphrase, or large explicatory poem, upon the Song of Solomon." The work was so appreciated by his brethren that in 1748 the Associate Synod, having determined upon an enlargement of their Psalmody, "recommended it to the Reverend Mr Ralph Erskine to have under his consideration a Translation of the Songs in Scripture into metre, except [leaving out] the Psalms of David, which are already translated." [98]

Proceeding on the line of the Synod's recommendation, which was that of his own inclination, Mr Erskine completed in 1750 "A Short Paraphrase upon the Lamentations of Jeremiah, in five chapters"; and in 1752 "A new version of the Song of Solomon, in eight chapters." These were instalments of what appeared, after the death of the metrical renderer, as 'Scripture Songs, in two books,' the first book consisting of Old Testament songs in six parts, the second of New Testament ones in three parts.

The 'Scripture Songs' of Ralph Erskine were at one time held in high esteem, and copies of them were in great demand not only in Scotland, but also in England, Wales, and the United States, as many as twenty-five editions having been published in London alone before 1826. They do not, however, form a part of the reading of the present day, neither do they find a place in modern hymnals. 'The Presbyterian Hymnal' of the Church, which is justly proud of him as one of its founders, has only one of Erskine's songs among the

[98] "Extract from the Records of the Associate Synod in manuscript: *Stirling, April* 14, 1748.—The Synod recommended it to the Rev. Mr Ralph Erskine to have under his consideration a translation of the Songs in Scripture into metre, except the Psalms of David, which are already translated, agreeable to the recommendation of the General Assembly, met at Edinburgh, Aug. 28th, 1647, Sess. 25."—'The Life and Diary of the Reverend Ralph Erskine, M.A.' By Donald Fraser. Edinb.: 1834, p. 508, note. The reference in the Secession recommendation to the Church of Scotland's "Act for Revising the Paraphrase of the Psalmes brought from England, with a Recommendation for Translating the other Scriptural Songs in Meeter"—going a hundred years back—is not without significance.

366 pieces of its contents.[99] There is, however, a statement prefixed to the first instalment of songs, "showing the occasion and design of the following poems," to which a permanent interest attaches. At the outset reference is made to what has already come under our notice—the fact, viz., that "more than a hundred years ago the work of turning all the rest of the Scripture Songs into metre, as the Psalms of David are, and for the same public use, was proposed by the Church of Scotland," the reference, of course, being to "the recommendation of the Assembly given to Mr Zecharias Boyd" in 1647.[100] "This affair," the statement goes on to affirm, "having never yet been accomplished to general satisfaction, though some essays were made towards it," it was suggested to the metrical translator that he should employ his skill upon it, and the suggestion was followed up by an official recommendation of the Associate Synod to the same effect. Eventually, nothing came of the movement in that quarter at that time. Ralph Erskine died on the 6th of November 1752, and in May of the following year the Synod discharged a committee that had been appointed to revise the Scripture songs; and so the affair dropped.[101]

The recommendation, however, of the Associate Synod, and the action of such a prominent seceder as Erskine of Dunfermline, are significant, as showing that, while the burgher

[99] No. 230:—

"O send me down a draught of love,
Or take me hence to drink above!
Here Marah's water fills my cup;
But there all griefs are swallowed up."

[100] "And the Assembly doth further recommend that Mr Zachary Boyd be at the paines to translate the other Scriptural Songs in meeter, and to report his travels also to the Commission of Assembly, that, after their examination thereof, they may send the same to Presbyteries to be there considered untill the next Generall Assembly."—'Acts of Assembly,' 1647, p. 159.

[101] "Shuttle Street Church of Glasgow, May 2nd 1753.—In regard the Committee appointed to revise the Scripture Songs translated into metre by the Rev. Mr Ralph Erskine had not met before his death, the Synod did not judge it proper to continue the said Committee."—'Life and Diary,' *ut sup.*, p. 508, note.

portion of the Secession did not favour the use of hymns in public worship, it regarded with approval the enlargement of the psalmody through the addition of paraphrases or translations of Scripture passages other than those of the Hebrew psalter.

By the Antiburgher portion of the Secession, with, for its champion, Adam Gib, a Scotch Athanasius standing unmoved and unflinching in the old ways,[102] there was issued, in August 1758, "A Solemn Warning addressed to persons of all ranks in Great Britain and Ireland." [103] While section 2, article 4, of this manifesto is devoted to a lengthy exposition of the corruptions of public worship in England and Wales, nothing is said on the same head in the case of Scotland further than a reference to "the promiscuous admissions to the Lord's table which are now commonly practised in Scotland, as well as in the neighbouring lands," and which "do greatly add to the public guiltiness." [104]

In 1804 the same body of Seceders, constituting the General Associate Synod, agreed upon a manifesto of the nature of a narrative and testimony, the doctrinal division of which has a chapter devoted to "various Divine Ordinances and Corruptions of them." Under the 1st section, with preaching for its

[102] "Adam Gib, . . . an ecclesiastic of the second Reformation type. All its leading principles he had firmly grasped, or rather they had taken possession of him. A hard, dry man, fond of logic and formulas, he had an extraordinary intensity of character. He writes his covenant with God in the blood of his own veins. . . . It would not be difficult to trace our own Church connection with the Antiburgher leader."—'The Theology and Theologians of Scotland.' By James Walker, D.D. Edinb. : 1872. Lect. I. p. 31.

[103] "A Solemn Warning, by the *Associate Synod* in *Scotland;* addressed to persons of all ranks in *Great Britain* and *Ireland:* Wherein the great sin, danger, and duty of the present generation in these lands . . . are pointed out and declared." Given in full in 'The Present Truth: a Display of the Secession-Testimony,' best known as Gib's Display. In two vols. Edinb. : 1774. Vol. ii. pp. 192-230.

[104] In the course of the above article there is this statement of the general and distinctive principle ruling all Presbyterian worship: "As in the government and discipline, so in the worship of his Church,—the Word of God is the only rule. And he is a jealous God, jealous of all deviations from that rule."

subject, it is asserted "that in dispensing the gospel ministers ought to preach, and not to read their discourses to the people;" while in the 4th, occupied with "Forms of Prayer," there is condemned and protested against "the conduct of those adult persons, who, in ordinary circumstances, either in public, in private, or in secret, restrict themselves to set forms of prayer, whether these be read or repeated."[105] Another section treats "of the Psalmody," and contains two important assertions and declarations. *First*, "That the Psalms contained in the book which bears this name, *and other Scripture Songs*, were given by divine inspiration, to be used in the ordinance of praise under the Old Testament." *Second*, "That these Psalms and Songs are of the same divine authority under the New Testament; and that these, *as well as others contained in the New Testament itself*, may be sung in the ordinance of praise."[106] All that is condemned and testified against in the matter of psalmody is "the doctrine of those who, maintaining that many of the Psalms of David are inconsistent with the spirit of the Gospel, have laid them aside as unfit to be sung in Christian assemblies, and have, in various instances, introduced in their room hymns of human composition containing erroneous doctrine."[107] This is all that the narrative and testimony sets forth upon the subject of the matter and form of public praise; and it is evident that the position of the Antiburgher Seceders was the same as that of those from whom they differed about the burgess oath. Both parties considered it permissible to use other Scripture songs than those constituting the Hebrew psalter, but neither extended this permission to "human hymns" or "hymns of human composition."

The period of splits in the Secession was followed by one of

[105] 'Narrative and Testimony, agreed upon and enacted by the General Associate Synod.' 1804. Chap. ix. pp. 163, 169.

[106] Ibid., p. 170. The italics in the above quotation are ours.

[107] Ibid., p. 171.

unions, although the latter were not always effected without giving rise to fresh disruptions. The earliest union was that of 1820, when a section of the Associate or Burgher Synod, and the majority of the General Associate or Antiburgher Synod, formed the United Associate Synod. The united body published a Testimony in 1827, consisting of an historical narrative and a doctrinal statement, and treating among other things of "the Means of Salvation and Ordinances of Worship." As regards prayer, not only is there emphatic condemnation of "the offering of prayers to angels or departed saints," and the presentation of prayers or performance of any supplicatory services in behalf of the dead," but there is disapproval "of the conduct of those adult persons who restrict themselves to set forms of prayer, whether these be read or repeated." There is, however, this notable concession under the head of prayer: "As Scripture doxologies, and the divinely approved petitions of saints, may be warrantably adopted in our devotional exercises, both public and personal, so may the Lord's Prayer be used by itself, or in connection with other supplications." With regard to praise, this striking statement stands at the opening of the paragraph: "We admit that other parts of Scripture may be used in praise, but we reject the principle that the Book of Psalms is not suited to the Christian dispensation." [108]

The next Secession union of outstanding interest took place in 1827, and was that, on the one part, of a minority whose disapproval of the Narrative and Testimony of 1804 emitted by the General Associate Synod had led them to constitute themselves a separate body, under the name of the Constitutional Associate Presbytery; and, on the other part, of a minority who, disapproving of the union of 1820, were called Protesters. These two dissentient minorities formed, when united, the Associate Synod of Original Seceders, a designation intended

[108] 'Testimony of the United Associate Synod of the Secession Church.' In Two Parts, Historical and Doctrinal. Pp. 135, 136.

to denote that they stood precisely on the same ground with that occupied by the first Seceders from the Church of Scotland. For purposes of information and vindication a new Testimony was drawn up by the Original Seceders, constructed after the pattern of earlier documents of the same nature, in two parts, the one containing historical, the other doctrinal statements.[109] In the latter half of the Testimony there are three chapters which treat successively "of Moral, Natural, and Instituted Worship." The position laid down in these chapters regarding prayer presents no feature of difference from what has been found in earlier documents of the same school.

The declarations under the headings of "Praise and the Psalmody" are, however, decidedly restrictive in their scope and tendency. They are to this effect:—

"That although there are other Scripture songs besides those contained in the Book of Psalms, yet the latter seem to have been especially intended by God to be used in the exercise of public praise, from their being delivered to the Church by the Holy Ghost for that purpose; that the Psalms of David are adapted to the use of the Church under the present as well as the former dispensation; that the use of these psalms in New Testament times is sanctioned by the precept and example of our Lord and His apostles; that when songs and hymns are spoken of in the New Testament along with psalms, there is no evidence that different compositions from the Psalms of David are intended, for some of these are styled songs and others hymns from the subjects of which they treat, or the occasion on which they were to be sung;" and finally, "that to introduce hymns of human composition, or even paraphrases, in which undue liberties are taken with the original text, tends to endanger the purity both of the worship and doctrine of the church." [110]

[109] 'A Testimony to the Truths of Christ, agreeably to the Westminster Standards as received by the Reformed Church of Scotland, and in opposition to defections from the Reformation sworn to in Britain and Ireland: together with An Act for renewing the Covenants, and a Formula. Agreed to by the Associate Synod of Original Seceders. 1827.' The historical part of this Secession manifesto came from the pen of the biographer of Knox.

[110] Ibid. Doctrinal Part. Chap. xvii. sect. ii. pp. 152, 153.

Although the language thus employed is not free from ambiguity, and cannot be charged with being over-dogmatic, the manifest intention is to exclude all metrical compositions from public praise, except those which are renderings of the contents of the Hebrew psalter.[111]

There remains but one other section of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland which became detached from the Church of State recognition and endowment during the period of decadence, but which took up a position with reference to the psalmody of public worship distinct from, and, some would say, in advance of, that maintained by the other branches of the Scottish Secession. That section formed itself into a presbytery of relief in 1761, and during the period of its separate existence, it was known as the Relief Church in Scotland.[112] At no stage of the eighty-six years within which its history is comprised does that branch of the Secession appear to have taken up a position unfavourable to the use of an enlarged psalmody. So far from that, three ministers of the denomination laid themselves open to the charge of unpresbyterial action introducing in the conduct of praise in their respective congregations selections of hymns which they had severally compiled. Although this procedure gave rise to discussion and occasioned secessions from the folds of the innovators, it was followed up by an overture favourable to an expansion of the psalter being brought before the Synod in 1793.

[111] In his 'Catechism for the Times,' the late Rev. D. A. Sturrock of Midholm, a worthy representative of the O.S. Church, has the following questions and answers: "*Are hymns and paraphrases of human composure to be employed in the ordinance of praise?*—No; we have a divine form in the Word, and the practice endangers the purity of doctrine and worship. *But are there no other songs in the Bible besides those contained in the Psalms?*—Yes; but even granting that such songs should be sung, this would form no argument whatever either for the use of human compositions, or of 'paraphrases' on passages of Scripture, such, for example, as the Lord's Prayer."

[112] In 1847 the United Associate Synod and the Relief Synod united, and so brought about the fourth and largest of all the Secession Unions, forming the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

The proposal was transmitted to presbyteries with an instruction to ministers to consider the matter, and be prepared to discuss it at next meeting of Synod. The result was favourable to the introduction, not only of metrical versions of Scripture passages generally, but also of hymns. By the Synod of 1794 the selection made by one of the three ministers who had taken the lead in the movement, with additions from those of the other two, was regarded with favour, and ministers were recommended "to use the said selection in the praises of God, when they found that the same would answer the purposes of edification and peace." [113]

This rapid disposal of the matter gave offence in some quarters, and called forth the strenuous opposition of ministers of repute and influence in the Relief Church.

In the course of a few years, however, the opposition died away, and the Synod hymn-book came to be generally adopted. According to Dr Struthers, the historian of the Relief Church, this "was followed by a corresponding improvement in church music; and the worship of 'praise' became varied, animating, and peculiarly adapted to the doctrines of the Gospel." [114]

The preface to the Relief Hymn-book of 1794, written in the first person by Mr Stewart, whose selection was adopted, contains a defence of "the singing of Hymns and Sacred Songs," which, considering the quarter from which it

[113] 'Sacred Songs and Hymns on various passages of Scripture, approved by the Synod of Relief, and recommended to be sung in the Congregations under their inspection.' Glasgow: Printed by J. Mennons. 1794. A copy is in the Library of the New College, Edinburgh. Issues of this collection were printed with a distinctive title-page for the use of particular congregations. Thus there is in the possession of James Thin, Esq., a copy of "Sacred Songs and Hymns on various passages of Scripture, for the New Relief Church, Campbell Street, Glasgow, 1794," which is exactly the same in the matter of contents as the first-named. This Secession collection of Sacred Songs and Hymns consists of 231 pieces. Of these, 31 are taken from the Paraphrases and 2 from the Hymns of the Church of Scotland edition of 1781.

[114] 'History of the Rise, Progress, and Principles of the Relief Church.' By the Rev. G. Struthers, D.D. 1843. P. 376.

emanated, is noteworthy. "The Book of Psalms," it is affirmed, "is indeed greatly to be esteemed; and were Christians allowed to make use of one only of the sacred books in praising God, I am of opinion that the Psalms should be preferred to any other on account of the great diversity of objects and cases contained in them." Denying the existence of any such restriction, the writer inquires—

"Are not the Psalms or Songs of Moses, of Isaiah, of Paul, of Peter, of John, and of other sacred writers, as sacred and important as those of David, Asaph, Heman, &c.? In particular, can any just reason be assigned why Christians should not sing the Songs of their own dispensation, but still confine themselves to those of the ancient tabernacle and temple? They very properly use passages of the New Testament in their prayers, and why not also in their praises? Our Psalms were reduced to metre by uninspired men, and may not other passages of Scripture be formed into metre, by uninspired men likewise, and be every way as beneficial for the edification of Christians?"

In the closing paragraph the compiler states that "the following System of Hymns and Sacred Songs is collected from several authors, who, with a pious and laudable diligence, have employed their talents and attention in compositions of this kind."

The individual pieces "are either founded upon particular texts of Scripture, or are Paraphrases upon several verses in particular chapters of the Sacred Books." In carrying out this arbitrary arrangement, according to which all hymns must appear as paraphrases, some curious results ensue,—as, for example, when Cowper's hymn, "Oh for a closer walk with God!" is given as a paraphrase of Genesis v. 24, "Enoch walked with God," the passage of Scripture prefixed to it in the "Olney Hymns," of which it is the first; or when Addison's "When all thy mercies, O my God"—first of the five in the Church of Scotland collection of 1781—appears as a paraphrase of Psalm 104, verse 34, "My meditation of Him shall be sweet: I will be glad in the Lord."

The Seceders of Scotland may have been right as regards the particular type of worship they practised, with its unread sermons, unwritten prayers, and restricted psalmody: they may have been wrong in tolerating the doxology and paraphrases, but prohibiting hymns, in that, some of them contending for a distinction without a difference, many of them mistaking baldness and loudness for simplicity and strength, and all failing, more or less, to manifest the beauty of holiness in divine service: but whether they were right or wrong as to one or more of the points specified, no man of fairness will fail to allow that the record of the Seceders all through the period of decadence was a noble one, a record of splendid service to the cause of Christ and the historic Church of Scotland.

Dr Witherspoon, in his 'Ecclesiastical Characteristics,' represents the moderates of his day as sneering at "those poor beings the Seceders";[115] and doubtless, while there were among the ministers of the National Church those who honoured them, and continued to regard and speak of them as "dear brethren," the prevalent feeling in the moderate ranks was accurately reproduced in that contemptuous expression.

But the verdict of history has condemned the calumny of contemporaries; and that verdict could not find fitter expression than in these sentences of a nineteenth-century ecclesiastical statesman: "They stood for Truth and Life in days

[115] "We find that moderate men have mostly, by constitution, too much spirit to submit to the drudgery of the kinds of learning above mentioned, and despise all who do so. There is no controversy now about Arian, Arminian, Pelagian, or Socinian tenets, but only whether this good of the whole scheme holds. This shows, by the by, the injustice and malignity of those poor beings the Seceders, who cry out of erroneous doctrines in the Church, and assert that Arminianism is publicly taught by many. It is known that they mean the moderate men when they speak so; and yet I will venture to affirm, that there are not a few young men of that character, who, if they were asked, could not tell what the five Arminian articles are, so little do they regard Arminianism."—Maxim VI. vol. vi. pp. 181, 182.

when the battle went sore against both. And as long as Truth and Life are maintained in Scotland, it will not be forgotten that a great share of the honour of having carried them safe through some of our darkest days was given by God to the Seceders." [116]

[116] 'Three Lectures on the Church of Scotland.' By Robert Rainy, D.D. First edition, 1872. New edition, 1883. Third Lecture, p. 142 of new edition.

# PERIOD VI.

## THE MODERN RENAISSANCE.

By the close of the eighteenth century divine service conducted in the churches of Scotland had fallen into a state of lifeless formality and slovenly neglect. Due allowance being made for the tone of exaggeration in which a popular lecturer is apt to indulge, there is a measure of truthfulness in the description of the state of matters at that time furnished in 1886 by a Scottish lecturer on 'The Reformed Ritual in Scotland.' According to Dr Story, "the public services of the Church of Scotland had become probably the baldest and rudest in Christendom. The parish kirks, owing to the niggardliness of the heritors, were comfortless and coarsely furnished. The music was rough and untrained; only in a few of the town churches was it rendered with any attempt at taste or skill. The Bible was scarcely read. The prayers were reduced in number to two at the most, and were drearily long and uninteresting. The Lord's Prayer was never heard. The sermon was the great feature of the service; and it was too often a 'screed' of dull doctrine or of cold morality." [1]

Such a display of carelessness and irreverence did not escape the notice of those to whom Presbyterian worship of any kind was distasteful, and who longed for the introduction

[1] 'The Reformed Ritual in Scotland.' The Lee Lecture for 1886. By R. H. Story, D.D. P. 36.

of Prayer-book and altar. Among the publications of the second half of the eighteenth century was a letter purporting to be "FROM A BLACKSMITH TO THE MINISTERS AND ELDERS OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND: In which the manner of PUBLICK WORSHIP in that Church is considered; its inconveniences and defects pointed out; and methods for removing them humbly proposed." From the language he employs, the references and quotations he makes, and the alterations for which he pleads, it is easy to discover, under the guise of a Presbyterian blacksmith, a parson of Episcopalian prejudices and predilections. Worthless for all purposes of reform, the letter is of value because of what it reveals only to ridicule. Thus, complaint is made by the would-be improver that in the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland there is no systematic reading of Scripture, the worshippers being only indulged "now and then with ten or a dozen of verses of pure Scripture, chosen at the pleasure of the preacher;" that the praise part of worship has an "air of rusticity and contempt of God," everything helpful to engage and elevate the heart having been "whimsically thrown out," the versification being "mean and barbarous," the music "harsh and ill performed," the harmony, "otherways not very sweet, entirely lost, and the sense broke off at every line," the words used "obsolete and low," the sitting posture at praise being "the most indecent, negligent, and improper for singing well," that could have been adopted.

The administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper upon what are styled "occasions" is severely handled, the caricature and satire employed not falling much short of those indulged in by Burns in his "Holy Fair." The ministers of the Church of Scotland are charged with departing from the Directory for public worship in those very matters in which that standard gives good guidance. Thus the recommendation that the Lord's Prayer be used in divine service is alleged to be neglected by most; while all are

charged with omitting Scripture reading at the several diets of worship. And finally, whereas, according to the Directory, service should begin with prayer, "now," reports the blacksmith, "it begins with praise," the people rushing "into a very solemn part of worship, without a word of previous exhortation, very often without a serious thought."

As may have been anticipated, the blacksmith's one remedy for the inconveniences and defects thus pointed out consists in "the composition and establishment of some devout liturgy, or form of prayer for public worship," so constructed that "the minister may have liberty to pray for all extraordinary cases in what words he thinks proper."

Nearer the close of the eighteenth century the defects of existing Scottish Presbyterian worship were taken in hand in a more friendly spirit and by an abler pen. In 1778, Dr James Beattie, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic in Aberdeen, and author of "The Minstrel," wrote and published a letter on the "Improvement of Psalmody in Scotland," which he addressed to Dr Hugh Blair of Edinburgh.[2] From letters contained in the account of his life and writings by Sir William Forbes, it appears that the poetical and metaphysical professor had been approached with a view to securing his co-operation in a proposed enlargement of the metrical psalter.[3] Although considering himself disqualified for such work, because of his ignorance of the Hebrew language, Dr Beattie was evidently interested in the movement, and ventilated in private correspondence a proposal for a new version of the Psalms, to be formed by selecting the best renderings of versions already existing. In the open letter

[2] 'A Letter to the Reverend Hugh Blair, D.D. one of the Ministers of Edinburgh: on the Improvement of Psalmody in Scotland.' By James Beattie, LL.D. Printed, but not published, in 1778. In 1829 it was published *verbatim* by R. Buchanan, Edinburgh.

[3] 'An Account of the Life and Writings of James Beattie, LL.D.' By Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo. London: 1824. Vol. i. pp. 398-400; vol. ii. pp. 13-16.

to Dr Blair, he treats psalmody improvement under the two heads of, the Words and the Music. Dealing with the former of these, the northern professor expresses himself favourable to the employment of passages of Scripture additional to those constituting the Book of Psalms, including "even such pious songs of modern date as those published by Addison in the 'Spectator': and he is "in doubt whether Church music would not have more energy if we were to sing our psalms in prose, according to that form of Recitative which in England is called *Chanting*." These, however, are matters which, as "no friend to innovation," he leaves to be decided by the General Assembly and the voice of the people. Dr Beattie proceeds to criticise briefly the several metrical versions, pointing out what he considers their excellences and their defects, giving preference to that "now used by all the Presbyterian congregations in Scotland," although, in passing, speaking a good word for "the royal versifier," King James.[4] In the matter of measure, Dr Beattie does not advocate the employment of many varieties. While he would not wholly exclude verses in Short measure, he intimates his preference for the common Iambic and the Long measures. Incidentally, it appears that he has no objection to anthems; "many of Marcello's Psalms and of Handel's sacred songs and choruses might," in his judgment, "be performed in churches with the happiest effect."

The subject of congregational music is treated in the letter with great brevity. Setting out from the position that it is not necessary that every worshipper should join in church music, the writer earnestly entreats "those who sing very ill, not to sing at all, at least in the church. If they are silent, they may have their affections raised by the singing of others; but if they sing, especially if they sing loud (which bad

[4] "The work does honour to this learned Monarch. It is not free from the northern idiom; but the style seems to me to be superiour to that of every other Scotch writer of that age, Hawthornden excepted."—'A Letter,' &c., p. 8.

singers seldom fail to do) they will not hear the congregation, and they must disturb every person in the neighbourhood of their pew who has a musical ear." He recommends all who do join in the praise of the sanctuary to sing softly, and with exertion varying according to the character of the psalm to be sung.

On two points bearing upon congregational singing Dr Beattie expresses a decided opinion. One of these relates to the practice of sitting while the psalms are being sung—a posture, he affirms, in which "one cannot sing freely or with the full command of one's voice." The other is the practice of "reading each line of the psalm separate, and then singing it." Introduced, he believes, at a time when it was in some sort necessary, because numbers in every congregation could not read, he thinks that, as that is not the case now, the practice should be discontinued. "The minister," he goes on to state, "should always read over, in a distinct voice, that part of the psalm which is to be sung; and if he were to explain any difficult phrase that may occur in it, I believe his people would think themselves obliged to him. This, indeed, is done in many places; but in some country parishes, the morning psalms are begun before the minister enters the church; and of the other psalms he never reads more than the first line; which cannot fail to lessen the veneration of the people for that part of worship."

The last topic upon which the "Minstrel" touches is the use of instrumental music. The reasonableness of using such in churches might, in his judgment, be proved "from Scripture; from the general practice of Christians; from the constitution of the human mind; and from the very nature of the human voice, and of musical sound." But he considers it unnecessary to enter upon the proof, "as in this country, at least, the practice can never become universal." Even supposing the Assembly were to authorise it, he doubts "whether there are sixty parishes in Scotland, that could afford the ex-

pence of an organ and an organist." As a philosopher, he endeavours to comfort the lovers of instrumental music with this consideration, that if they enjoy not the benefit of organ music, they are not "hurt by its improprieties, which, as that matter is too frequently conducted, are neither few nor small."

With this deliverance of Dr Beattie in mind, it is interesting to note that the next movement toward improving the praise of the Church of Scotland took the direction of instrumental music. To the congregation of St Andrew's Church, Glasgow, belongs the distinction of being the first to agitate the question.[5] In the autumn of 1806 application was made through the minister, Dr William Ritchie, to the Provost, Magistrates, and Council, for permission to make certain alterations in the seats behind the pulpit, that room might be obtained for setting up an organ. To this request the municipal authorities declined to accede, and the progress of the movement was for a time arrested. In the summer of the following year, however, a musical association was formed by the minister and a few heads of families for the purpose of improving themselves in the science and art of sacred music. By-and-by a chamber-organ was employed "as a help to the precentor for guiding the voices of the singers," and the meetings were always closed with family worship. The satisfaction of those who took part in these gatherings gave rise to an urgent request for the use of the instrument in public worship on the Lord's Day, and the resolution was come to by the minister and office-bearers to comply with the desire of the people. On Sabbath, 23d August 1807, the innovation was introduced. "The precentor was in his place" —we quote from Dr Ritchie's narrative—"when he struck a note the organ did so at the same moment, it proceeded along with him, passing from line to line in the ordi-

[5] A committee of the Presbytery of Glasgow appointed in 1808 stated that "an attempt was made a few years ago by a respectable Congregation in Aberdeen, but instantly abandoned."

nary method, and with him it ceased. The congregation joined both precentor and organ, all sitting as becomes true Presbyterians." Having interposed without effect at an earlier stage, the Lord Provost made formal intimation of what had taken place in St Andrew's Church to the Presbytery of the bounds, and the matter came before that court on the 7th of October. In the course of his speech upon that occasion Dr Ritchie announced that he would not again use an organ in the public worship of God without the authority of the Church. Two motions were submitted to the court, and ultimately voted upon. The first was, "That the Presbytery are of opinion that the use of the organ in the public worship of God is contrary to the law of the land, and to the law and constitution of our Established Church, and therefore prohibit it in all the Churches and Chapels within their bounds." The second was, "That in consequence of Dr Ritchie's judicial declaration, the Presbytery find it unnecessary to proceed further in this business; declaring, at the same time, their judgment, that the introduction of an organ into public worship is inexpedient, and unauthorised in our Church." The first motion carried, and there being no complaint or appeal to the Superior Court, the judgment of the Presbytery became final. The minority, however, lodged reasons of dissent, and "a war of protocols within the Presbytery" ensued. Dr Ritchie gave in a paper in which the whole question was raised on the merits, and a long and able argument was led for the use of instrumental music in public worship. His main contention was that the organ is simply "a help, a support given to the precentor's voice, for enabling him more steadily and with more dignity to guide the voice of the congregation; and thus to preserve, not only uniformity, but that unity of voice which is so becoming in the public service, which so pleasingly heightens devout feelings, and prevents that discord which so easily distracts the attention of the worshippers."

To Dr Ritchie's paper a reply was prepared by a committee of Presbytery, Dr William Porteous of St George's being the member mainly, if not altogether, responsible for it. In this document, of greater length than, and equal in ability to, the paper to which it is a rejoinder, Dr Ritchie's contention that organ music is simply "the addition of a certain quantity of modulated sound to the precentor's voice, in perfect union with his, and therefore incapable of disturbing the current of devotion," is set aside as "not only metaphysical, but also tinctured with something not unlike sophistry," and the committee have no difficulty in showing that in introducing a musical instrument into Presbyterian worship without the knowledge and sanction of the Church judicatories, the minister and congregation of St Andrew's were chargeable with an innovation incompatible with, and subversive of, the principles of Presbytery.[6]

Shortly after the abortive attempt of the Glasgow congregation to effect what was denounced as an *organic* change in their worship, and vindicated as only an instrumental aid to the rendering of their praise, two men took up the *rôle* of reformers, and, working on lines that could not be charged with being either unconstitutional or inexpedient, rendered good service in elevating the standard and improving the

[6] The conflict of manifestoes ceased on the 4th of May 1808; but in 1856 the two papers mentioned above, and which were identified respectively with the names of Dr Ritchie and Dr Porteous, were republished by Dr R. S. Candlish of Free St George's, Edinburgh, with an Introductory Notice ('The Organ Question: Statements by Dr Ritchie and Dr Porteous, For and against the use of the Organ in public worship, in the proceedings of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 1807-8.' Edinb.: 1856). In his Notice Dr Candlish expressed the alarm he felt at certain recent movements on behalf of instrumental music in Presbyterian worship, and his dread of the agitation of the question in Presbyterian Churches. Towards the close of his prefatory note he affirms it is a question which touches some of the highest and deepest points of Christian theology, and states it to be his firm persuasion that if the organ be admitted, there is no barrier, in principle, against the sacerdotal system in all its fulness—against the substitution again, in our religion and our ritual, of the formal for the spiritual, the symbolical for the real.

rendering of praise in Scottish sanctuaries. One of these was Dr Andrew Thomson.

The ministry of this noted protagonist of his times, who was so powerful a factor in the evangelical revival of the nineteenth century, reached its zenith when, in 1814, he was appointed by the Town Council of Edinburgh to the charge of St George's, then in the extreme west end of the city. In virtue of his mental endowment and physical build a reformer, gifted with rare nobleness and potency, wielding a masculine eloquence enlivened by copious facetiousness and pleasantry, displaying at times a certain irritability and turbulent vehemence, Dr Thomson's resemblance to the great German Reformer of the sixteenth century became the more striking when the Scotsman also displayed an exquisite ear and passionate fondness for music. Among the many things to which this man of untiring energy gave the benefit of his support was elevating the standard and improving the psalmody of the Scottish Church. In 1820 Dr Thomson published a collection of Psalm and Hymn tunes under the name of 'Sacred Harmony.'[7] In his preface of six pages the compiler refers to the paucity of metres in the national psalmody, a defect which he hopes will be speedily remedied by the exertions of the Psalmody Committee of the Church of Scotland. A fourfold classification of the tunes contained in the collection is given, according as they are (1) tunes which have been long in common use, and are held in great estimation; (2) airs which have failed to find their way into general use, although entitled to recognition; (3) those of a more modern date, including some culled from the works of the greatest masters; (4) tunes which have never before been published, the greater number having been composed expressly for the work.[8] In addition to 178 tunes adapted to

[7] 'Sacred Harmony. Part I. For the use of St George's Church, Edinburgh. Being a Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, with an Accompaniment for the Organ or Piano Forte.' Edinb.: 1820.

[8] One of these—"St George's, Edinburgh"—is now permanently associated

all the psalms, paraphrases, and hymns in the enlarged psalmody of that date, Dr Thomson's collection contained music for four doxologies, five sanctuses, one dismission, and two anthems. Toward the close of his preface the Edinburgh minister expresses his obligation to Mr Smith of Paisley.[9]

Robert Archibald Smith, son of a silk-weaver in Paisley, was born in England, but came to Scotland when his father returned in 1800. Starting upon his professional career as precentor in the Abbey Church, Mr Smith was, in 1823, to the satisfaction of the musical minister of St George's, Edinburgh, appointed conductor of psalmody in that church, and co-operated with its energetic pastor in bringing about a marked improvement in the psalmody, not only of the congregation with which he was specially associated, but of the country generally. Mr Smith was a voluminous composer and compiler. Before removing to Edinburgh he had published 'Devotional Music, Original and Selected,' 'Anthems in Four Vocal Parts,' and the greater part of 'The Scottish Minstrel' in six volumes. After becoming associated with Dr Thomson he edited 'Sacred Music, consisting of Tunes, Sanctuses, Doxologies, Thanksgivings,' &c., and 'The Sacred Harmony of the Church of Scotland, in Four Vocal Parts, adapted to the version of the Psalms, Paraphrases, and Hymns, &c., used in the Presbyterian Churches.'[10]

with the name of Dr Thomson as its composer, and with the closing stanzas of the 24th Psalm, for the musical rendering of which it was specially composed. The work contains other twelve original tunes by the compiler.

[9] "Mr Smith of Paisley has done much for us, and all that he has done is excellent. And we are glad to have this opportunity of stating our obligations and bearing our testimony to this most deserving individual, whose taste and skill and acquirements in his professional walk entitle him to a high place, and have already secured for him no small reputation in the musical world." Smith's contributions to Dr Thomson's 'Sacred Harmony' consisted of five tunes, two sanctuses, and two anthems.

[10] The tune "Invocation," sung to the 43d Psalm, was first published in Smith's 'Sacred Music, &c., sung in St George's Church, Edinb.' 1825. "Selma" is generally thought to be also one of Smith's tunes; but it is described in the foregoing collection as an "Ancient Scottish Melody noted in

That Dr Thomson and Mr Smith, both individually and working in concert, enriched the church music of their country, and greatly improved that part of divine service, is the opinion of all competent judges. Testimony to the improved state of matters, all the more pleasing because rendered without solicitation, is furnished by the distinguished English educationist, Dr Arnold of Rugby, who visited Scotland in the year of Dr Andrew Thomson's death, and who has recorded in his journal the impression made by what he then saw and heard. Under date July 1831 he has this entry:—

"I was at church (at Greenock) twice on Sunday, once at the Presbyterian Church and once at the Episcopal Chapel. My impressions, received five years ago, were again renewed and strengthened as to the merits of the Presbyterian Church and our own. The singing is to me delightful,—I do not mean the music, but the heartiness with which all the congregation join in it. And I exceedingly like the local and particular prayers and addresses which the freedom of their services allows the minister to use. On the other hand, the people should be protected from the tediousness or dulness of their minister; and that is admirably effected by a Liturgy, and especially by such a Liturgy as ours. . . . Some freedom in the Service the minister certainly should have; some power of insertion to suit the particular time and place; some power of explaining on the spot whatever is read from the Scriptures, which may require explanation, or at any rate of stating the context." [11]

Dr Arnold spent another Sunday of the same month in Glasgow, and again worshipped in a Presbyterian church, but does not seem to have been so favourably impressed. The Scottish minister's sermon struck him as addressed more *ad*

the Island of Arran and harmonised by Mr Smith." It is there set to the 67th Psalm. For an appreciative notice of R. A. Smith, and the services he rendered to Scottish Psalmody, see 'Scottish Church Music: Its Composers and Sources.' By James Love. Edinb.: 1891. The appendix to this useful book of reference contains "A List of the principal Collections of Psalmody issued in Scotland from the year 1700 to the present time."

[11] 'Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D.' By A. P. Stanley, D.D. In two vols. Ninth ed. 1868. Vol. ii. p. 337.

*clerum* than *ad populum*. Nothing, it seemed to him, could be worse than the introductory prayers of the Scottish service, judging from what he heard; "the intercessory prayer after the sermon is far simpler, and there the discretion given to the ministers is often happily used."

It was to the Englishman a pleasing surprise when the minister used the Lord's Prayer before the sermon.[12] We cannot claim for Dr Thomson's example and teaching that they provided for the Oxford professor of modern history the pleasure of hearing what to him was, in the circumstances, "doubly welcome and impressive." For the lectures of the Edinburgh divine have been appealed to, not without some show of reason, in order to prove him lacking in the true devotional spirit, and in loving appreciation of that prayer that teacheth to pray. In 1816 Dr Thomson published two volumes of 'Lectures on portions of Scripture.'[13] Four of the lectures are devoted to the subject of Prayer as unfolded in the Gospel according to St Matthew.[14] In these the position taken up and argued with reference to the Lord's Prayer is thus set forth: "That the form of prayer which our Saviour gave to His disciples was never meant to be binding, as a part of Christian worship, on succeeding ages of the Church; and consequently, that though, in the way of accommodation, it may be both lawfully and properly made use of, we are justified in not making use of it according to the sense which it

[12] Ibid., p. 338. It is only fair to give Dr Arnold's general summing up, as expressed thus: "But altogether, taking their Service as it is, and ours as it is, I would far rather have our own; how much more, therefore, with the slight improvements which we so easily might introduce—if only—— But even to the eleventh hour we will not reform, and therefore we shall be not, I fear, reformed, but rudely mangled or overthrown by men as ignorant in their correction of abuses as some of us are in their maintenance of them." These words were written sixty-one years ago. Is the Church of England any nearer the slight improvements desiderated—any nearer the being reformed which can alone avert the being overthrown?

[13] 'Lectures, Expository and Practical, on select portions of Scripture.' By the Rev. Andrew Thomson, A.M., Minister of St George's, Edinb. 1816.

[14] Vol. ii., Lects. xxii.-xxv.

literally and originally bears, and according to the method in which it is usually employed by those who hold a contrary opinion."[15] In endeavouring to make good this position, the lecturer contends that the Founder of Christianity could not have designed the prayer for permanent use, since no further notice is taken of it after the regular institution of the Christian Church, and it does not appear from any authentic document that has come down to us, that it ever constituted a part either of public or of private worship; that, with the exception of the petition bearing on forgiveness, the whole of the prayer is extracted from the liturgies that were in use among the Jews; that had He designed this form for us who live in Gospel days, Christ "would have introduced into it petitions most directly and distinctly applicable to the characteristic doctrines of Christianity, and not limited himself to a phraseology adapted to the darker and more imperfect scheme of Judaism;" that there is one of the petitions which it is impossible for us to employ in its original sense, the petition "Thy kingdom come;" and finally, "that the Lord's Prayer is not preferred in the name of Christ," while "it is beyond controversy that every petition we offer up to God must be offered up in that name, otherwise it cannot be acceptable and successful." Surely, then, we cannot reasonably suppose "that our Saviour would prescribe to us, as a set form, a prayer so radically defective as not to acknowledge the necessity of dependence upon His atonement and righteousness," or "that He would intend the form of prayer which He gave to His twelve disciples to be binding upon the practice of His Church in all succeeding ages." While on such grounds as these refusing to recognise and use the Lord's Prayer "as a precise and stinted form in worship," Dr Thomson protests against being regarded as agitating to have it set aside or treated with neglect. As a part of the Word of God it is, he maintains, entitled to our

[15] Ibid., p. 238.

respectful attention, and he concedes "that *as a prayer* it may, in the way of accommodation, be employed with great propriety, and with great advantage."

Even with these limitations, the contention of Dr Thomson gave deep offence to many. It furnished the editor of 'Presbytery Examined'[16] with corroboration, as he imagined, of his author's assertion that Presbyterians not only refuse to use the Lord's Prayer, but condemn the use of it by others;[17] while the language of the minister of St George's about that sacred form of devotion which our divine Redeemer uttered is stigmatised as "fearful." To the Episcopalian editor it was matter of painful surprise not only that one employing such language was not called to account by the judicatories of the Kirk, but that he continued to be regarded by the members of the Scottish establishment as a high authority on points of Christian doctrine.[18]

[16] 'The Fundamental Charter of Presbytery, as it hath been lately established in the Kingdom of Scotland, examin'd and disprov'd by the History, Records, and Public Transactions of our Nation.' London: 1695. 'The Works of the Right Rev. John Sage, a Bishop of the Church in Scotland; with Memoir and Notes.' Edinb.: Printed for the Spottiswoode Society. 1844.

[17] ". . . our present Presbyterians observe no forms in their public prayers either before or after sermon. For the most part they observe no rules—they pray by no standard; nay, they do not stick by their own 'Directory.' All must be extemporary work, and the newer the odder—the more surprizing, both as to matter and manner, the better. . . . Nay, so much are they against set forms, that it is Popery, for anything I know, to say the Lord's Prayer. Our Reformers never met for public worship but they used it once or oftener. . . . Our present Presbyterians will not only not use it, but they condemn and write against the using of it."—*Ut sup.*, pp. 352-355.

[18] "The best proof which can be adduced in support of Bishop Sage's assertion, that the present Presbyterians have receded from the principles of the Reformers (at least) in the matter of the Lord's Prayer, is furnished by the following extract from the printed Sermons of the late Dr Andrew Thomson, the authority of whose name is still of great weight in the estimation of Scottish Presbyterians." The editor, having furnished his extracts, some of which are the same as those given above, concludes with the observation: "This quotation requires no comment beyond the remark, that the person who used this fearful language about that sacred form of devotion which our divine Redeemer uttered, was not only not called to account for it by the judicatories

Dr Andrew Thomson's startingly sudden death took place in 1831. The reforming party in the Church of Scotland, to the ultimate ascendency of which he so powerfully contributed, became dominant in the General Assembly of 1834, and the struggle between evangelicalism and moderatism continued till 1843, when it culminated in the Disruption. During the ten years of conflict and convulsion, the Church of Scotland could not be expected to have either time or inclination to attend to matters of ritual, her very existence as an ecclesiastical establishment being at stake; and for wellnigh an equal number of years after separation, both sections of the disrupted Church found it needful to concern themselves with other matters than the details of worship. But all through these years of rending and of reconstructing there was a steady though silent quickening of the spiritual life of the Scottish Presbyterian Churches, one of the manifestations of which was a concern for and endeavour after greater seemliness and heartiness in the services of the sanctuary.

The man who undertook to lead in this endeavour, but who led in a way that evoked stern opposition, while it created interest in the movement both within and outside the borders of his own Church, was Dr Robert Lee, minister of Old Greyfriars, and Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh. For the work of a pioneer in ritual reform to which this ecclesiastic addressed himself, single-handed, with intrepidity and enthusiasm, he possessed several valuable qualities. Exercising a dexterous and nimble rather than a profound or subtle intellect, displaying as a debater great alertness, coolness, and smartness, Dr Lee succeeded in indoctrinating a large and influential congregation with his views as to the need of a reformed ritual for Scotland, while he proved more than a match for conservative opponents in his

of the Kirk, but continues to be regarded by the members of the Scottish establishment as a high authority on points of Christian doctrine."—Ibid., pp. 354, 355 n.

numerous encounters with such upon the floor of the metropolitan Presbytery or the General Assembly.

On the other hand, Dr Lee displayed in a marked degree *les défautes de ses qualités.* Occasionally his smartness degenerated into flippancy, his logical fence into unworthy verbal quibbling. His warmest admirers freely admit that he was lacking in the higher qualities of a liturgist, such qualities as a "tender reverence for Catholic usage," and an appreciation of "the archaic forms of Catholic tradition"—that he was defective in the higher feeling and the inner ear for the melody and rhythmic harmony of liturgical devotion, so that his own printed prayers breathe "the free and pure air of modern thought," give embodiment to his conception of "a rational Christian worship," but "have not much of that ripe fulness and venerable gracious stateliness which shed a solemn yet kindly and familiar air—as of faint incense, or of mellow music, around the ancient liturgies." [19]

There was also in certain quarters a prejudice with which he had to contend, arising from a suspicion that the professor's theology was not favourable to evangelical life and warmth, but had leanings towards the Socinianism of eighteenth-century moderatism. It is candidly admitted by his biographer, Professor Story, that in the earlier years of his ministry Dr Lee's "preaching was more tinged with what is popularly called 'Evangelicalism' than it afterwards was," and that the minister himself was, in some respects, a very different man then from the man he afterwards became, "the liberal and rational element which subsequently marked his

[19] Dr R. H. Story, in 'Life and Remains of Robert Lee, D.D.' In two vols. London: 1870. Vol. i. p. 331; vol. ii. p. 351. See also article upon "The New Liturgics of the Scottish Kirk," under the initials, not difficult of identification, "A. K. H. B.," in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' No. DCCCCI., Nov. 1890. The writer of the article admits that he, for one, "thoroughly disliked Dr Lee's book ['Prayers for Public Worship']. The genuine liturgical flow was quite lacking in most of Dr Lee's prayers, which were to a considerable extent original."

character and ministry so strongly" being "then only partially developed."[20] The matter is cautiously stated when, by one in sympathy with his programme of ritual reform, it is admitted that Dr Lee's prayers were "very naturally flavoured" with his theology, that theology being "more advanced than was in those days common."[21]

Dr Lee entered upon his career as a reformer of the forms, the postures, and the accompaniments of Presbyterian worship when Old Greyfriars' Church, which had been burned in 1845, was reopened in 1857. On that occasion the minister, who "had been educating the minds of his people,"[22] requested them to kneel at prayer and to stand up when singing. He altered the first act of the service into conformity with the usage of the Directory, and he read the prayers from a book which contained a series of Church services drawn up by himself, and published earlier in the same year.[23] In the spring of 1863 a harmonium was used in the rendering of the praise in Old Greyfriars. This, how-

[20] 'Life and Remains,' *ut sup.*, vol. i. p. 77.

[21] 'Blackwood's Magazine,' *ut sup.*

[22] Dr R. H. Story, 'Life and Remains,' vol. i. p. 332.

[23] 'Prayers for Public Worship.' First ed. 1857. In the course of the preface Dr Lee stated: "The only deviation from the order generally practised in the Church of Scotland, which will be here remarked, is in beginning the service with calling upon the people to unite in the worship of God, instead of commencing with singing. This is done not only out of compliance with evident propriety, and with the practice of the Presbyterian Liturgies, but in obedience to the express rule of the Directory for the Public Worship of God; a document which contains the present law of the Church on this subject, and indeed on the whole subject of public worship; and to which a recent General Assembly has 'earnestly called the attention of all Presbyteries and ministers of this Church, trusting that its regulations will be duly observed.'" [Recommendation and Declaratory Act of Assembly, 1856.] The third edition of Dr Lee's book of prayers was entitled 'A Presbyterian Prayer-Book,' and was published in 1863. The fourth was a reprint, in the following year, with some slight corrections and additions, but having for title: 'The Order of Public Worship and Administration of the Sacraments as used in the Church of the Greyfriars, Edinburgh. By Robert Lee, D.D.,' &c. In 1873 the executors of Dr Lee issued a fifth edition, the fourth having been for some time out of print, and the demand for the book still continuing.

ever, was regarded by Dr Lee and his congregation as only a preparation for a larger instrument; and so, on the 22d April 1865, an organ was played, which was, to use his own language, "universally approved and applauded," a great enthusiasm having been excited.[24] The ritual reformer did not confine his efforts to impart æsthetic refinement to Presbyterian forms of worship within the limits of his own congregation, but sought to diffuse his views through the press. In 1864 there was published the first portion of a work which the author did not live to complete. Under the title of 'The Reform of the Church of Scotland in Worship, Government, and Doctrine'; the part devoted to ritual treats of such subjects as liturgical and extemporary prayer, postures in worship, use of instrumental music, and the reintroduction of certain festivals and fasts, as Christmas, Good Friday, and Easter.

"The book," writes Dr Story, "is incontestably the ablest contribution ever made to the question of liberty and propriety of worship in the Scottish Church. . . . It is with proved truth that Dr Lee says, in his conclusion, that the reforms he has advocated 'only tend, for the most part, to restore those customs and practices which the fathers of Presbytery thought expedient, and which they established and themselves practised. . . . No one should raise an outcry against ritualism, formalism, or any other *ism*, when nothing more is suggested than a return to some practices which the universal Church has sanctioned, which our earliest and wisest reformers approved, and which the more enlightened portion of the Scottish people at least are prepared to welcome.'"[25]

When, in 1859, the manner in which public worship was being conducted in Old Greyfriars became matter of review in the General Assembly, Dr Lee and his sympathisers re-

[24] "22*d April* 1865.—This has been a great day in the Greyfriars' Church, and in the Church of Scotland. The new organ, built by Messrs Hamilton, at a cost of £450, subscribed by the congregation, was this day opened, and universally approved and applauded, and a great enthusiasm has been excited."—'Life and Remains,' vol. ii. p. 82.

[25] Ibid., pp. 55, 56.

garded the first decision of that Court as substantially in his favour, virtually sanctioning the changes he had then introduced, with the exception of reading prayers from a printed book or from manuscript.[26]

Dr Lee's practices were for the second time before the Supreme Court in 1864, and again the decision of the majority was hailed by the reforming party as one "wisely tolerant of orderly change and progress," one that "practically condoned any fault that might be imputed to Dr Lee in regard to his resumption of the book of prayers, which he had laid aside from 1859 till 1863," and that would effectually protect him "from any future interference from the Presbytery."[27]

In the following year, however, matters took a different turn, when, once more, the Assembly was called upon to give a deliverance with reference to the ritual movement which in February of that year Dr Lee described as "proceeding smoothly and successfully." For on the 23d of May 1865 Dr Pirie, Professor at Aberdeen, and ex-Moderator of the Church, carried, by a majority of 33, an elaborate motion in which "the General Assembly, while recommending the utmost tenderness to the feelings of unanimous congregations as to matters of form, do hereby declare and enact that arrange-

[26] "The Assembly decided for me, substantially, by a majority of 140 to 110. It is a wonderful result; and has surprised many people, and delighted far more."—Dr Lee, 'Life and Remains,' vol. i. p. 365. "This decision of the Assembly, '*rara avis in terris*,' was really a popular triumph."—Dr Story, ibid., p. 367. The leading part of the Assembly's decision was in these terms: "Find it established . . . that the prayers in the services of Greyfriars' Church are read by Dr Lee from a book in manuscript or printed. . . . Find that this practice is an innovation upon and contrary to the laws and usage of the Church, . . . and the Assembly enjoin Dr Lee to discontinue the use of the book in question in the services of his Church, and to conform in offering up prayer to the present ordinary practice of the Church." When this judgment of the Assembly was announced Dr Lee stated that he acquiesced therein, and would endeavour to comply with the injunction *as he understood it.*

[27] 'Life and Remains,' vol. ii. p. 66. "A Revolution!" says Dr Lee in his diary.

ments with regard to public worship, and all other religious services and ecclesiastical arrangements of every kind in parishes or congregations, are to be regulated by the Presbytery of the bounds, always subject to the ordinary right of appeal, and that even though no express law should exist with reference to such particulars—the decisions of Presbyteries in each case being absolute and obligatory until they have been finally reversed by the competent courts of review; and the General Assembly strictly prohibit all ministers and office-bearers from assuming independent jurisdiction in such matters as are inconsistent with the vows of submission pledged by them at ordination to the inferior courts, on pain of the highest censures." [28]

This deliverance was, as Dr Lee at once perceived and acknowledged, "a decision against Innovations," which, so long as it continued in operation, would be a fatal check upon the progress of the movement he so bravely championed. Accordingly he set himself to secure the repeal of what came to be spoken of as "Dr Pirie's Act," moving in that direction through his Presbytery and Synod to the Assembly of 1866.[29] By that Supreme Court, however, not only was his motion for repeal lost by a majority of 207 to 94, but a motion was carried by 147 votes against 106, authorising a committee of the Edinburgh Presbytery to confer with Dr Lee as to his present and proposed mode of conducting public worship in his church, and "to take such steps as the result of the inquiry may show to be requisite for the regulation of the services in the said church, in a manner consistent with this deliverance, and with the law and usage of the Church." [30] Once more, and for the last time, the innovations practised in

[28] Ibid., pp. 153, 154.

[29] In the Edinburgh Presbytery Dr Lee examined "Dr Pirie's Act" at great length, and pronounced it to be "inept, contradictory, and unsound from its title to its conclusion."—Ibid., p. 239.

[30] Ibid., pp. 264, 265. "So ended the debate," remarks Dr Story, "on freedom of worship—in a way entirely hostile to Dr Lee."

Old Greyfriars were made matter of motion, complaint, and appeal in the inferior courts, and travelled, by slow and wearisome stages, to the Assembly of 1867. When, however, the case was called, Dr Lee's legal representatives craved indefinite postponement, on the ground that the person most closely affected was unable to compear, or to concern himself with any public interest. For on the day before the opening the minister of Old Greyfriars had been struck down with paralysis. From the effects of that seizure he never fully recovered; a second and severer proved fatal; and on the evening of the 14th of March 1868 the spirit of the restless reformer and ready debater passed away from the heat of controversy and the strife of tongues. Thus, according to his sympathetic biographer, "the protracted discussions upon Innovations came to a vague and undefined close. The 'Greyfriars case' remains still unfinished—ending only in a postponement." And we have the same unimpeachable authority for stating that "Dr Lee's friends were not sorry that it should end thus, as they knew that, if the appeal had been heard, the decision of the Assembly would have been adverse." [31]

There is one department of divine service regarding which Dr Lee's attitude was essentially conservative—that, viz., of the material for praise. Writing in 1864, and giving his answer to the inquiry, What should be sung in church? What words should be used as psalms or hymns in the worship of God? he gave expression to the opinion that there was neither any necessity for, nor much advantage in, going beyond the Scriptures for the material of praise; that if only adapted and used aright, there is abundance of material in the canticles of the Old and New Testaments for expressing every feeling of faith, hope, love, patience, submission, and every holy aspiration which we should seek to express and cherish in our songs of praise. He also expressed the conviction that

[31] Ibid., p. 353.

while many of the hymns in current use are good, and some of them even beautiful and well adapted *for some uses*, the number of really excellent modern hymns in the English language did not amount to a score. "A committee of the General Assembly," he went on to state, "has sat for many years, and has collected a considerable number of hymns —the best they could find after diligent and extensive inquiries."[32]

The matter of an enlarged psalmody and hymnody had indeed been before the Church of Scotland in one form or another from the opening of the century. As early as 1811, and again in 1814, specimens of poetic renderings of the Psalms in a variety of metres had been submitted to presbyteries. In 1821 there was laid before the Assembly, and by their order printed for the use of presbyteries, what was called 'Additional Psalmody';[33] in 1854 there was compiled for presentation to the Assembly a collection of 123 hymns founded upon and springing out of Scripture passages;[34] and in the year following a newly appointed committee made a selection in alphabetical order of 25 hymns which they deemed suitable for public worship, introducing a few slight alterations, and adding Bishop Ken's Morning and Evening Hymns, as also 9 doxologies.[35] Then in 1860 there was prepared for presentation to the Assembly by the Psalmody Committee a collection of 85 hymns, also arranged alpha-

[32] 'The Reform of the Ch. of Scot.,' chap. x., "Psalms and Hymns."

[33] 'Additional Psalmody; submitted to the General Assembly, 1820; and printed by their order, for the inspection of Presbyteries.' Edinb.: 1821. The collection consists of two parts, the first containing 32 renderings of psalms in different metres, and the second 17 metrical renderings of other passages of Old and New Testament Scripture, with 2 doxologies.

[34] 'Hymns connected with passages of Sacred Scripture, collected by a Committee of the General Assembly, and prepared for presentation on Friday, May 26, 1854.'

[35] 'Hymns connected with passages of Sacred Scripture, and adapted for public worship. Selected by a Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland from a Collection made by a former Committee. May 1855.'

betically;[36] this, in turn, was superseded by the labours of the committee reported to the Assembly of 1861, and embodied in a collection containing 97 pieces, followed by 22 Doxologies, 3 forms of Thanksgivings, 2 Dismissions, 1 Hosanna, and 4 Sanctuses.[37]

It is unnecessary to trace the stages of the movement beyond the point now reached, as it is from 1861 the authoritative use of hymns in the Church of Scotland is to be dated. This, however, falls to be noted, that any explicit sanctioning of the use of hymns in public worship was never at any time either asked or given, the only nineteenth-century deliverance of Assembly on the subject being in these guarded terms: "Allow a Selection of the Hymns to be published by the Committee, it being understood that the sanction of the General Assembly is not hereby given to the Selection that may be made." When the Selection of 1861 was revised, and a new edition was issued in 1864, the Assembly simply *allowed* its publication. The edition of 'The Scottish Hymnal' in present use among congregations purports on its title-page to be "For use in Churches, by authority of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland." If examined into it might appear that it would be more correct to say, "By permission," than "By authority."[38]

[36] 'Hymns collected by the Committee of the General Assembly on Psalmody for presentation in May 1860. David Arnot, D.D., Convener.' 1860. ". . . the Church of Scotland never approved this volume: the Committee published it on their own responsibility. And its use in churches was never authorised by the General Assembly."—A. K. H. B., in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' May 1889, article, "The New Hymnology of the Scottish Kirk."

[37] 'Hymns for Public Worship collected by the Committee of the General Assembly on Psalmody. For presentation in May 1861. David Arnot, D.D., Convener.'

[38] "In 1864 an enlarged and improved edition of the Hymnal of 1861 was *allowed* by the Assembly to be published. From that time the use of the book became general, although the authority for using it is merely to be gathered from the title taken along with the allowance to publish."—MS. communication from Dr Sprott, October 5, 1891. Dr Rankin of Muthill "de-

The present century action of the Secession Church in Scotland with reference to the use of hymns, while it does not go quite so far back as that within the border of the State Church, was in the same direction and of somewhat the same character.

We have found, at an earlier stage of our survey, approval given by the Synod of Relief as early as 1794 to a volume containing 231 "Sacred Songs and Hymns." Forty-six years later the United Secession Church, another influential section of the Secession in Scotland, was moved by overtures from several of its presbyteries to take the matter of an enlargement of the psalmody into consideration, the result being the appointment in 1842 of a committee to make a selection of paraphrases and hymns fit for use in congregations. The labours of this learned body, extending over wellnigh two years, must have been arduous, judging from the amount of material brought together. In the printed collection no fewer than 814 pieces form the first part, 30 "Hymns for the Young" the second, while an appendix of 80 additional compositions and 22 doxologies—making 946 metrical compositions in all—complete the portly volume. As in the case of the earlier Relief Hymn-book, a number of the paraphrases of 1781 find a place in the United Associate Synod compilation, and the contents are arranged in the order of the books of the Bible. This particular hymnal, although printed, was never published, and so was never used in congregational praise.[39] The explanation of this peculiarity is probably to be found in the fact that long before the book was in type negotiations for union between the Associate and the Relief

vised the felicitous title of *The Scottish Hymnal.*" It "was first used in public worship on Sunday, August 14, 1870; being then a collection of only 200 Hymns. At the end of the year 1888, the Hymnal had grown to a volume containing 442 Hymns."—A. K. H. B., *ut sup.*

[39] A copy of this book is in the possession of James Thin, Esq., Edinburgh, who has favoured me with the use of it, as also of the collections mentioned in the immediately preceding notes.

Churches had commenced, that by the time the volume was ready for use the union platform had been constructed, and that the union itself was consummated on the 13th of May 1847. The fact that both parties to this union had thus a hymn-book, the one in readiness and the other in actual use, accounts for the celerity with which the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland took steps to furnish its congregations with an enlarged psalmody. Five days after the union the Synod appointed a committee to consider the psalmody of the United Church. That committee reported progress on the 8th October of the same year, and recommended the preparation of a book of hymns. By May 1848 they were in a position to submit to the Supreme Court a draft of the proposed hymnal, copies of which were, by orders of Synod, sent to each session for suggestions.[40] Matters advanced so harmoniously, that in May 1851 the United Presbyterian Synod was in a position to instruct the committee "to publish the Hymn-book forthwith for the use of the Church." The use of an authorised Hymn-book in the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland thus dates from 1851. In the authorised book the pieces were reduced in number from 663 in the draft issue to 460, and the doxologies from 26 to 19. With the exception of five at the close, the hymns were arranged in the order of the Bible passages on which they are founded or which they spiritualise, other parallel passages being indicated.

What is virtually a new Hymn-book for United Presbyterian use was published by authority of the Synod in 1876, under the title of 'The Presbyterian Hymnal.' In this collection the process of selection is carried a stage further, the number of pieces being limited to 366, and of doxologies to 18, to which, however, are added 24 Scripture sentences. The arrangement of the contents is also different, the order

[40] 'Hymn Book of the United Presbyterian Church.' Glasgow: Printed by William Collins & Co. Draft. 1848. It contains 663 pieces, arranged in the order of the books of the Bible, and 26 doxologies.

of Bible books being departed from in favour of a grouping according to subjects, these being fifteen in number.

It was not till 1866 that the question of authorising the use of a hymn-book was raised in the Free Church of Scotland. In that year overtures found their way to the Assembly calling for an extension of the existing material for public praise. The motion which approved itself to a majority of the fathers and brethren on that occasion, was one appointing "a committee to consider maturely the whole matter, enjoining said committee to report to next General Assembly whether in their opinion any such changes as those now craved should be made, and if so, in what way this may best be done so as to preserve the peace and promote the edification of the Church."[41] The large and representative committee then appointed nominated three sub-committees to consider and report upon separate branches of the subject—one to ascertain what has been the law and usage of the Reformed Church of Scotland as regards the employment in public worship of paraphrases and hymns; another to inquire into the rule and practice of the primitive Church on the same subject; and a third to examine the present collection of paraphrases and hymns, with a view, in the event of its being resolved that a revision of that collection should be made, to recommend what part of the existing collection should be retained, what displaced, and what should be regarded as doubtful.

After a short interim report presented in 1867, and a larger one, with three appendices, in 1868, the Assembly of 1869 felt justified in giving a deliverance of approval, and in remitting to the committee carefully to revise the existing col-

[41] This motion, proposed by Dr Adam, was carried by a majority of 73 against one submitted by Dr Begg, which raised and remitted to a committee the following points: "1. Whether any principle is involved in singing inspired or uninspired compositions in the public worship of God? 2. Whether, apart from questions of principle, any of the practical suggestions embodied in the overtures on the table, or any other suggestion, are worthy of careful consideration?"—F.C. Blue-Book for 1866, pp. 268, 247.

lection of paraphrases and hymns, to select a limited number of Scriptural and standard ones in addition to those that may be retained, and to make a more thorough examination of the versions of the Psalms formerly prepared and submitted by the Psalmody Committee.

Acting on the lines thus laid down for their guidance, the Committee on Paraphrases and Hymns fixed upon seventy-five hymns, which they printed in alphabetical order and appended to the report given in to the Assembly of 1870, and they also enumerated the paraphrases and hymns of the 1781 collection which they proposed to omit, as also which of these, with certain alterations, they deemed worthy of retention.

By 1872 the committee had been for six years engaged in the work, having devoted to it not a little time, thought, and effort, and they then felt justified in asking for a final decision, in the form of permission to congregations to use the limited collection, where that was desired. They further suggested that the Assembly should follow as nearly as possible the course which the Church pursued in 1781—that, viz., of *allowing* the collection to be used in public worship in congregations where the minister finds it for edification. The suggestion was given effect to by the Assembly of 1872, who approved "generally" of the revised collection of psalm versions, paraphrases, and hymns. To this finding there was added the following statement: "And being persuaded that the Assembly cannot with advantage longer delay coming to a decision in the matter, they hereby allow the public use of said collection where that is judged to be for edification."[42]

[42] The opposition motion was moved by Dr Hugh Martin in the following terms: "That no measures in the way of legislation ought to be adopted in connection with the materials of our public psalmody until a clear deliverance is given by this Church in regard to the Scriptural principle which regulates the appointed and acceptable mode of worshipping God, as bearing upon congregational praise." For this motion there voted 61 against 213, giving a majority of 152 in favour of Dr Adam's, which was that given in the text.—F.C. Blue-Book for 1872, pp. 313, 316, 327.

A movement in 1878 for a larger collection, resulted, three years later, in the sanction of the volume at present in use, which purports to be "The Free Church Hymn Book. Published by authority of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland."

Little or no responsibility attached to Dr Robert Lee in the matter of hymn-singing, and for what of change he introduced into that department of divine service it was open to him to plead that, as in the kneeling posture at prayer, he was simply falling back upon the Church's sanction and usage at an earlier period of her history, that his "novations" were not innovations but restorations.[43]

That plea, however, he did not advance, as indeed it was not possible for him to advance it, in defence of one of the changes he introduced into Old Greyfriars in 1863, when instrumental music was employed at the public diets of worship. Whatever support they may endeavour to derive from the practice of the mediæval Church, even the warmest sympathisers with Dr Lee are ready to admit that instrumental music had been unknown in the *Ecclesia Scotticana* from the era of the Reformation.[44] Although the attention of the

[43] "To kneel in prayer was only returning to an attitude which ought never to have been abandoned."—Dr Leishman, "The Ritual of the Church," in 'The Church of Scotland, Past and Present,' vol. v. p. 424. Regarding another change of attitude in which Dr Lee led the way, Dr Leishman is disposed to admit that it "was, perhaps, an innovation." "It is doubtful," he remarks, "if at any time standing at singing was prevalent in Scotland."—Ibid. "Sitting at praise I look upon as an innovation. In the Orkney Islands, where I was brought up, the congregations of all sects, from the time of the Reformation, have stood at praise."—Speaker in Free Church Assembly, 1882.

[44] "Putting aside all questions as to the point at which Church authority ends and individual freedom begins, every candid person must admit that most of the changes which can be traced to his action had the Church's sanction in some earlier period of her history. An exception was the use of instrumental music. It had been unknown in the Church since the Reformation, for uniformity can hardly be said to have been broken by the tentative use of it on one or two occasions in the Chapel Royal or the Glasgow church. But it was an innovation which Dr Lee saw the nation was ready to adopt."—Dr Leishman, *ut sup.*, p. 423.

Church courts was from time to time directed to the fact that a harmonium was being used by the minister of Greyfriars, and his doing so was classed among the innovations with which he was charged, it was not this matter that formed the chief topic of discussion and deliverance. The departure from use and wont given prominence to, and on which a finding adverse to the innovator was chiefly sought by his opponents, was the offering of prayer from a printed or manuscript book. The Assembly never during Dr Lee's lifetime came to any explicit finding on the question of what might be used as an aid to vocal praise;[45] nor since his death has there been any formal decision sanctioning the use of instrumental aid, while liberty has been practically secured for congregations to avail themselves of such, if they see their way to do so. The Assembly by which this is regarded as having been done is that of 1866. By that Assembly an Act was passed which, deprecating "needless interference with the government of particular kirks," declares it to be the duty of Presbyteries, on cause shown, either to enjoin the discontinuance or prohibit the introduction of such innovation or novel practice, or to find that no cause has been stated to them calling for their interference, or to pronounce such other deliverance in the said matter as in their judgment seems warranted by the circumstances of the case and the laws and usages of the Church; it being always competent to submit such deliverances to the review of the Supreme Church Court in common form.

Some years elapsed before the example thus set was followed by any of the other sections of Scottish Presbyterianism. At length, in 1872, the United Presbyterian Church framed such a deliverance as gives the right to any congregation within its jurisdiction to call in the aid of instrumental music with a view to steadying, strengthening,

[45] In no one of the four General Assembly decisions in the Greyfriars case is there any mention of instrumental music.

and sustaining the voices of the people. The deliverance was in these carefully selected, well-balanced clauses of a long sentence: "That this Synod decline to pronounce any judgment upon the use of instrumental music in public worship; yet do not longer make uniformity of practice in this matter a rule of the Church; but the Synod urge upon the courts of the Church and upon individual ministers the duty of guarding anxiously the simplicity of public worship; and press on the earnest attention of all the members of the Church watchfulness over the unity of our congregations."

Ten years passed away; and then the Free Church found herself in turn forced to face the question of sanctioning, tolerating, or prohibiting the innovation. The matter was brought before the Assembly of 1882 by petitions from two congregations[46] praying for liberty to use instrumental music in the public services, if they should so determine; and also by overtures, two against and five in favour of such liberty being declared.[47] The Assembly remitted the subject to a committee, "with instructions to consider carefully the applications now made for congregational liberty in regard to the use of instrumental aids in the public worship of the sanctuary, with the grounds on which such liberty is craved, and to report as to the manner in which the applications should be ultimately dealt with in consistency with the principles of the divine Word and the Standards of this Church." The report of this committee, laid on the table of the Assembly of 1883, was an elaborate document of thirty pages. It was very far from being a unanimous one, having been dissented from in whole or in part by several members; but the conclusions reached by the majority of the committee

[46] Both congregations were within the bounds of the Glasgow Presbytery, being those of Free College Church and of Westbourne Free Church.

[47] The two overtures unfavourable to liberty being granted were from the Synod of Glenelg and the Presbytery of Dornoch; the five in favour of permission being given were from the Synods of Fife and Aberdeen, and the Presbyteries of Glasgow, Kirkcaldy, and Dunfermline.

were, all along the line of inquiry, in favour of liberty being granted. The discussion to which this document gave rise in the Assembly was a protracted one, extending from eleven in the morning till eleven at night, and it was at times carried on in heat and with temper. The motion which, by a majority of 390 to 259, became the finding of the Church, declared "that there is nothing in the Word of God, or in the constitution and laws of this Church, to preclude the use of instrumental music in public worship as an aid to vocal praise." "The General Assembly," the motion went on to affirm, "do not feel entitled to withhold this declaration, which, in the circumstances, it has become their duty to make."[48]

Thus, by separate and successive acts of legislation extending from 1866 to 1883, the three leading branches of the Presbyterianism of Scotland have given liberty or extended toleration to the congregations within their borders, under certain restrictions, to employ instrumental music as an accompaniment of and an aid to their service of praise. To what extent the permission has been acted upon, and what has been the influence of instrumental music upon that department of divine service in the case of congregations that have availed themselves of it, it does not fall within the scope of this inquiry to determine.[49]

[48] The motion which became the finding of the House was that of Principal Rainy. The counter-motion was that of Sir Henry Moncreiff, and it called upon the Assembly "to publish the report, along with the accompanying documents, for the general information of the Church, that all its members may have a full opportunity of considering the matter; and the Assembly, in the meantime, take no further action with respect to it."—F.C. Blue-Book for 1883, pp. 102, 107, 108.

[49] Dr Leishman of Linton is a minister of that Church which has most largely availed itself of instrumental aid in the rendering of the public praise, and is an authority on all matters connected with Presbyterian ritual. It is thus that in 1891 he expresses himself regarding the introduction of the organ: "Many were startled at first; some, who were personally favourable to it, opposed it from a belief that it would be distasteful to the body of their countrymen. Experience has shown these fears to be groundless. Scottish

A year prior to the earliest of the dates just mentioned, there came into existence a society which has undoubtedly exercised a potent influence upon divine service as now conducted in Presbyterian Scotland, and whose formation has been followed by that of several other associations of a kindred nature.

Three years before the death of Dr Lee the movement within the pale of the Church of Scotland for an improved ritual widened out from the personal and congregational circle in which it had up till then moved, into one which included a considerable number of prominent and representative ministers. For on the 31st of January 1865 a meeting was held at Glasgow which resulted in the formation of a private association called "The Church Service Society," for membership in which only ordained ministers of the Church of Scotland were eligible, and admission was determined by the votes of a majority of the members present at a particular meeting.[50] As set forth in rule vi. of the constitution, the object of the Society is stated to be "the study of the liturgies, ancient and modern, of the Christian

intelligence declined to see a breach of the second commandment in the use of an organ, which is neither an object nor an ordinance of worship. As an accessory of worship, it was found to be a steadier support to the singers' voices than the larynx of a precentor. The help of an instrument has been welcomed in town and country, and if there are districts where a feeling against it remains, it is not likely to be lasting, unless wrong-headed men strengthen it by attempts to force the new mode on those who are prejudiced against it."—"The Ritual of the Church." 'The Church of Scotland, Past and Present,' vol. v. pp. 423, 424.

[50] The restriction of membership to members of the clerical profession was soon removed. At the annual meeting in 1867 it was agreed to invite the co-operation of laymen. Since 1873 that part of the constitution declaring "that none but ordained ministers of the Church of Scotland shall be eligible as members" has been dropped. In the lists of the members of the Society now published in the annual reports, there appear, in addition to the clerical members arranged according to Presbyteries, members under the following designations: 1. "Unbeneficed Clergymen and Licentiates." 2. "Church of Scotland in England. Presbytery of London." 3. "Dominion of Canada." 4. "Church of Scotland in the Colonies and elsewhere." 5. "Lay Members."

Church, with a view to the preparation and ultimate publication of certain forms of prayer for public worship, and services for the administration of the sacraments, the celebration of marriage, the burial of the dead, &c."

At a meeting held in Glasgow on the 31st March of the same year, there was read and adopted the report of a sub-committee which had been appointed "to consider what steps it is advisable to take in order to carry out the intention of the Society." As it sets forth the intentions of those who were the founders and promoters of the movement, this report is of value and significance. At the outset the committee advert to a misconception of the design of the Society, which they have reason to believe has entered into the mind of one or two of its members, and may possibly be even more widely spread. The error in question is that the Society "has been organised with the design of introducing a Liturgy into the Church of Scotland." Very emphatically is it stated that this is not the case, and that this is in no sense the work to which the Society has addressed itself. Without discussing the question whether the introduction of a Liturgy is desirable or undesirable, possible or impossible, the committee judge that there is no room for diversity of opinion on this point, "that the introduction of a Liturgy into any Church whose worship has not been hitherto liturgical must be a measure long considered, slowly matured, and ultimately carried, not by any private association of clergymen, but by the public, official, and constitutional action of the Church herself." After a reference to rule vi. of the constitution, already quoted, for a statement of the true object of the Society, the sub-committee contend that the study of liturgies forms as rational a subject of inquiry on the part of ministers as homiletics or dogmatic theology; that the preparation of the results of such study is competent to those who have time, ability, and inclination for such a line of investigation; while the publication of them must rest with the Society,

and will doubtless be made to depend on its deliberate judgment of their probable usefulness to the Church at large.

Considering the premature or indiscreet use of prepared forms as sufficiently guarded against by rule viii., which enacts that no form of prayer or of service submitted to the Society shall be adopted and used by any member in his clerical capacity [51] until the Society has agreed to sanction or recommend it, the committee go on to suggest that such forms as do obtain sanction should be regarded as *models* or *aids* to devotion, to be employed "not so as to supersede what is called free prayer," but so as to add richness to the language and solemnity to the worship. Two currents of feeling in the Church, generally supposed to run counter to each other, though not in reality doing so, or at least not needing to do so, are then described. The one feeling is that of sincere attachment to the simplicity of our non-liturgical worship; the other is an earnest desire for a worship more solemn, uniform, and devout, than (in tone and aspect at least) our non-liturgical service generally is. In the case of those who object to that "simple service," which to others is dear, it is suggested that what has rendered the service heavy and profitless "is not its *simplicity*, but—what is too often combined therewith, and may be as readily associated with the simplest as with the most elaborate service—its *lifelessness*, and lack of devotional spirit and expression"—and that the remedy for this defect is to be found in the filling up of the simple forms valued by some, with the earnestness of devotional expression desired by others,—"by doing, in short, what the Society proposes to attempt, preparing or collecting examples of prayer as full and as suggestive of solemn, earnest, fervent devotion as words can be, and binding these into the simple order of our existing worship." In the judgment of the committee, "our plain service is suited to the constitution of our

[51] In rule vii. of the constitution the clause "in his clerical capacity," which appears in the sub-committee's report, does not find a place.

Church and to the genius of our people, and may not be radically departed from." On the other hand, it is considered "very possible that in some minor points of arrangement the order may be improved," "ample freedom" for such improvement being "guaranteed by our Directory." Should the Society resolve to give attention to improvements, it is deemed right to point out that "although our closer acquaintance with England, and our readier opportunities of studying the ritual of the Anglican Church, are apt to lead us, in any alteration, to approximate to what we consider excellent in that ritual, yet our truer model is to be found in the Reformed Churches of the Continent, with which in all matters of historical position, of creed, of worship, and of government, we have, and ought to have, a much closer affinity than with the Episcopal communion established in the southern part of this island."

The work before the Society is divided by the committee into two main branches—the *Constructive* and the *Eclectic.* Under the first of these there would fall "the compilation or composition of *forms for special services.*" Dealing with the eclectic, the committee take for granted that all their fellow-members "value highly the privilege of what is called *free prayer*, and that they would be unwilling to submit themselves to the yoke, which neither their fathers nor they have been able to bear, of a liturgy so rigid, albeit so beautiful, as that of the Anglican Church." By "free prayer," however, the committee do not understand liberty on the part of each minister "to lead the devotions of his congregation according to his own idea or fancy, or as his spirit may be moved to pray;" they attach to it what they consider a legitimate and higher meaning, "that each clergyman of a Church which, like ours, is a *National* branch of the Church *catholic*, is at liberty to use whatever in the recorded devotions of that Church he finds most suitable to his own congregation's need," thus laying under contribution "the

prayers of the Faithful in all divisions of the Catholic Church," these being gathered "not into a formal *Manual* of Devotion, but into a great *Magazine* of prayers." [52]

To the programme as thus laid down at the outset of its career, the Society steadily adhered, if we may judge from the reports submitted to and the speeches made at its annual meetings. At an early stage of its history the editorial committee deemed it hardly necessary to remind the Society of the inexpediency of identifying itself with any party in the Church. At the annual meeting in 1868, Dr Boyd of St Andrews, referring to the volume called 'Euchologion,' stated that he never took the book to the pulpit, or used it there, and that he did not intend to do so. When moving the adoption of the report for 1878-79, Sir James Fergusson, while pleading for prayers "in a set form, which could not be trenched upon by circumstances and haste," but which, if "approved and habitually used, would render the services more complete and solemn, and acceptable to the people for whom they were offered," expressed the conviction that "it would be always consonant to Scotch feeling that a clergyman should, in the course of divine service, make special reference, in his own way, to topics which commended themselves to him as specially suitable to the people." "Prayers," said the Ayrshire baronet, "must not be all liturgical." And the Duke of Argyll, when applying by letter in 1880 to have his name added to the roll of lay members, deprecated any attempt "to deprive our Presbyterian service of that freedom which has been one of its essential characters." In fuller assertion of, not in derogation from, that freedom, he "should be glad to see among ministers and congregations the systematic, but not the exclusive, use of those forms of supplication of which the Lord's Prayer is the type, and of which it is the great example." His Grace further expressed himself op-

[52] This report is signed "in name of the sub-committee, R. Herbert Story, Convener."

posed to "the monotony and rigidity of a compulsory and formal rule," and would regret "the abandonment of spontaneous prayer as a usual, if not an essential, part of worship." On the subject of Church music, the representative of the old Scottish family avowed himself "old-fashioned enough to prefer greatly the use of the human voice alone," and looked "with some regret on the notion which seemed to be growing up that when an organ has been introduced, the best has been done that need be done to give greater life and variety to our public worship." As to the matter of praise, "the strong objection which has prevailed in Scotland against the use in worship of any compositions which are not strictly Biblical," is one deserving, in his opinion, "more sympathy and respect than is sometimes accorded to it"—although, taken even in its extremest form, this objection cannot apply to such a practice as "the reading of the Psalms in alternate and responsive verses by the minister and the congregation." "Whether for prayer or for praise," wrote the Duke, "whether for language addressed directly to God, or for words yielding comfort and instruction to those who stand by and hear, there is no liturgy comparable with the Psalms. These are the common heritage of the Christian Church, and the more systematic reading of them would alone be a great reform."

The annual meeting in 1882 was presided over by the late Principal Tulloch of St Andrews, who in the course of his opening remarks stated that the object of the Society could not, in some respects, be better defined than by saying "that it was for maintaining purity of worship in Scotland," their aim having been from the first "to restore, if possible, the original character of the service of the Scottish Church, to impart to it a truer character of devotion, more simplicity, more directness, and, in a word, more spiritualness." To the same effect spoke one who is an authority on all matters of Scottish ritual, Dr Sprott of North Berwick, who "trusted

that the Society would continue as hitherto to be specially characterised by its deference to the traditions of the Church of Scotland." "There could," he thought, "be no doubt that the Society had been a very conservative one." This statement was followed up by the enunciating of three propositions by Dr Snodgrass of Canonbie: "First, this Society is in no sense of the word a secret society; second, the object is not the introduction of prelatic forms; third, it is not true that the members of the Society are bound to use only such prayers as are approved of by the Society." Now and again individual members have pled for the compiling and publishing of a partial and permissive liturgy, the providing of services for weekly Communion and for daily worship, as also for the commemoration of various events in the life of our Lord; but these sentiments have not received open countenance from the ruling spirits of the Church Service Society.[53]

[53] At the annual meeting in 1871, the Rev. John MacLeod of Duns (now the Rev. Dr MacLeod of Govan) said "they must contemplate the elaboration of a comprehensive ritual with more frequent church services. He believed that the Church of Scotland in her standards practically conveyed the idea that there should be weekly Communion. He did not see why they should not revive the old Scotch custom of daily services where such a step was practicable. He would like to see special services for the commemoration of our Lord's Passion and various other events in the life of our Lord." Thereafter Dr Dykes of Ayr stated that "with a great deal of what Dr MacLeod had said he agreed, but with much he entirely differed, particularly what was said about the Communion." At the same meeting the Rev. R. H. Story remarked: "The Society must remember that the point from which they started, and in fact to which they were very much confined, was the improvement of the general worship of the Church, and the provision of material for that improvement; and they were almost expressly debarred by the general feeling of the Society from attempting that further work referred to—viz., the provision of a positive liturgical series of services for the Church; but that question must be very carefully considered." Dr MacLeod explained that he did not intend to commit the Society to the introduction of anything that was unconstitutional. In 1880 a motion was submitted and seconded at the annual meeting, to the effect "That it be referred to a committee to consider and report as to the expediency of drawing up and publishing a partial and permissive liturgy;" but the chairman (Dr Sprott) having expressed doubts as to the expediency of the motion, unless put in more general terms, it was withdrawn.

Early in its history the editorial committee resolved on the publication of a volume of church services, which appeared in 1867 under the title of 'ΕΥΧΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ: or, Book of Prayers; being Forms of Worship, issued by the Church Service Society.' When this volume reached a third edition the title was altered. The Greek word in Greek characters at the head of the title-page is followed by this description of the contents: "A Book of Common Order: being Forms of Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Ordinances of the Church."[54]

Starting with a small membership and from humble beginnings, the Church Service Society now reckons among its

[54] The first edition of 'Euchologion' consists of 220 pages. In a preface of 20 pages all intention of offering a complete work is disclaimed, but the prospect of issuing such is held out, should the business of the Society prosper, and the result of the publication answer the purposes of the editors. The contents of the book are divisible into two nearly equal portions. The first part contains draft forms of services for the sacraments, the solemnisation of matrimony, and a manual for the burial of the dead, the last-named including "Service at the House," and "Service in Public." The second part begins with Tables of Psalms and Lessons to be read in public worship, and concludes with "Material for the construction of a service for public worship on the Lord's Day," the material being arranged in 14 sections, which range over topics from Sentences of Scripture and Introductory Prayers, to Collects, Canticles, and Benedictions. The fifth edition of 'Euchologion' was issued in 1884, and numbers over 500 pages. Its contents are grouped in three parts. In part first are Tables of Psalms and Lessons, and the order of divine service for the several Sundays of the month. Part second is devoted to the order for the celebration of the sacraments, the admission of catechumens, the solemnisation of matrimony, the visitation of the sick, the burial of the dead, the ordination and induction of ministers, the admission of elders, for laying the foundation-stone of a church, and for the dedication of a church. Part third is an appendix of 129 pages in 20 sections, containing materials for daily and other services. Among the materials is "The Litany" of the Church of England Prayer-book, with a single alteration. One of the petitions in the Anglican Litany begins: "That it may please thee to illuminate all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons."[1] In 'Euchologion' the opening of the corresponding suffrage runs thus: "That it may please Thee to illuminate all Thy ministers with true knowledge and understanding of Thy Word."

[1] In Marshall's Primer of 1535 and Edward VI. First Prayer-book of 1549 the office-bearers are designated "Bishops, pastours, and ministers."

members a majority of the outstanding clerical members of the Church of Scotland, and embraces more than a third of the ministers within its brotherhood.[55] It continues, however, to be a private, though not a secret, association, for the actions and publications of which the Church of the members has no responsibility, and of which it takes no official cognisance. In 1868 Dr Leishman of Linton, speaking as a member of the Society, anticipated the time when "the Church herself would, as she ought to do, relieve them of this work;" but writing in 1891, the same divine has to confess that it is still lying "with the Church to determine whether the changes which changing circumstances always require shall be left in future to the empirical fancies of individuals, or to the united action of a society, or whether she will take the work into her own hands."[56]

Another denominational Society, the formation and operations of which give pleasing indication of revived interest in the devout and orderly expression of the worship of Presbyterian Scotland, is "The United Presbyterian Devotional Service Association." At a conference of ministers and elders of that Church held at Edinburgh on the 30th October 1882, the reading of three papers on the Devotional Services of the Church was followed up by the formation of this Association. Its objects and methods are set forth in the second and third articles of the constitution:—

"(ii.) That the Object of the Association shall be to promote the edifying conduct of the Devotional Services of the Church. In pursuing this object the Association shall endeavour to foster an interest in the History and Literature of Public Worship, consider

[55] At the annual meeting in 1873 one speaker congratulated the gentlemen who took charge of the Society on the day of small things being now passed. The first meeting, he stated, was held in one of the elders' pews, and it was satisfactory to see the Society now spreading over the area of the Church. On the 25th May 1892 it was reported at the annual meeting that the membership consisted of 533 clergymen and 136 lay members—in all, 669 persons.

[56] "The Ritual of the Church" in 'The Church of Scotland,' vol. v. p. 425.

the practice of other Denominations, indicate defects in existing usages, discuss proposals in the direction of improvement, and by such means to promote the devout and orderly expression of the Worship of the Church. (iii.) That the Methods employed by the Association shall include (1) Meetings of the Members for the reading of papers and for conference; (2) The publication of a Periodical as the organ of the Association."

The periodical has taken the form of an "Occasional Paper" issued twice a-year by the editorial committee, containing draft forms for various services printed for circulation among the members, that they may offer suggestions or criticisms before the forms are issued in a collected form. Based upon the consensus of opinion thus elicited, there was issued in May 1891 a volume of 'Presbyterian Forms of Service.'[57] Tentative in their character, the forms contained in this book are not intended to be used liturgically, but are offered merely as specimens of the manner in which the various services may be appropriately conducted under the existing system of public worship in a Scottish Presbyterian Church. It is in contemplation by the Association to prepare a volume of Family Prayers, and thereafter a book for the young to be used at children's services and in Sunday-schools. While not refusing to adopt any feature that commends itself simply because it is that of another form of ritual, the Association avows its adherence to Presbyterial lines, and its resolve to conserve the historical continuity of the Presbyterian polity and ritual.

[57] 'Presbyterian Forms of Service issued by the Devotional Service Association in connection with the United Presbyterian Church.' Edinburgh: 1891. Pp. 158. Contents: 1. Tables of Scripture Lessons for Divine Service. 2. Sentences of Scripture for the Beginning of Public Worship. 3. Order for Public Worship on the Lord's Day. 4. Selected Collects. 5. Two Orders for the Administration of the Lord's Supper. 6. Two do. for the Baptism of Infants. 7. Two Orders for the Admission of Baptised Persons to Full Communion. 8. Order for the Ordination of a Minister. 9. Do. of Elders. 10. Order for the Dedication of a Church. 11. Order for the Celebration of Marriage. 12. Order for the Burial of the Dead. 13. Scripture Readings for Funeral Services.

Kindred in aim with these two denominational societies, but of wider basis in respect both of membership and of methods employed, is the "Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society." This Association was formed on the 2d of February 1886, when a few architects and ministers of different denominational connections met and constituted themselves into a society for the study of the Principles of Christian worship, and of the Church Architecture and allied Arts which minister thereto, and also for the diffusion in the North of Scotland of sound views, and the creation of a truer taste in such matters. To further these ends the Society holds monthly meetings, at which papers are read and discussed, a selection of which is annually published in the 'Transactions'; it visits from time to time places of ecclesiological interest, and receives reports concerning new or restored churches; it uses its influence for the conservation of buildings of archæological or artistic value, and offers its opinion to ministers or others who may be contemplating the building, restoring, or adorning of churches.[58]

In this case, as in other instances of a new departure, the Free Church of Scotland has not displayed a wishfulness to take the lead, but has manifested a willingness to follow the example of sister Churches. For only in the last decade of the present century has a course of action been taken by some of her office-bearers similar to that entered upon by the Church of Scotland in 1865, and by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland in 1882. On the 25th of May 1891, in response to the invitation of a circular signed by four professors and

[58] The 'Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society' are fully illustrated, and handsomely printed in crown quarto. The published volumes contain, along with other valuable matter, papers upon "The Principles of Christian Worship," "Some Ancient Country Churches near Aberdeen," "Some Romanesque Churches in Cologne," "Notes on Church Music in Aberdeen," "Notes on some Ross-shire Churches," "Fifeshire Churches," "The Collegiate Church of Fowlis-Easter," "On the term 'Scolog.'" A series of drawings of the Sacrament-houses of the north of Scotland is appearing in successive volumes of 'Transactions.'

thirteen ministers, there was held in Edinburgh "a private conference open to ministers and elders of the Free Church," at which it was agreed to form a *Public Worship Association*, the general object of which will be "to promote the ends of edification, order, and reverence in the public services of the Church, in accordance with Scripture principles, and in the light especially of the experience and practice of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian system."

At a meeting held in November of the same year, the work to which the Association might profitably address itself was under consideration, when it appeared there were two sets of points open for conference and discussion.

I. Those on which general and cordial agreement appeared. These were found to be three in number. 1st, Need of more attention by the Church to the subject of worship. 2d, Need of model services for special occasions. 3d, Need of 'Directory for the Public Worship of God,' revised and adapted to the times.[59]

II. Points on which some difference of opinion appeared, but which were felt to be important for conference and discussion:—

"1st, Desirableness of an 'Optional Liturgy,' or 'Book of Common Order,' as distinguished from a 'Directory' for the ordinary Services.

> "Should certain parts of the ordinary Services,—viz., those which practically are in substance the same at all times,—be fixed, and forms for these, *not enjoined*, but *recommended*, in conjunction always with free prayer?—*e.g.*, a 'general confession of sins,' with declaration of God's forgiveness to those who repent and believe; a 'general thanksgiving'; an 'intercession for all estates'; a short creed.

"2d, Desirableness of the people being brought to take more prominent part in devotional Services.

[59] See Appendix N of this volume. Attempted Revision and Adaptation of Westminster Directory.

"Lord's Prayer being repeated aloud by people along with minister; 'Amen' said at all prayers; 'Apostles' Creed' (or perhaps the 'Nicene') on certain occasions; Ten Commandments, Beatitudes, and two great commandments of love being read or repeated statedly by minister, with short response by congregation.

"3d, Desirableness of the 'Collect' form of Prayer, and of 'Responses' generally beyond the 'Amens.'

"4th, 'The Christian Year,' to the extent at least of the commemoration of Our Lord's Birth, Death, Resurrection, Ascension, and the coming of the Holy Ghost."

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We have now carried our survey of the public worship of Presbyterian Scotland as far as is compatible with the impartiality, to say nothing of the dignity, of history.

It rests with those who have followed us in the successive stages of our investigation to form their own conclusions as to what are the essentials and what the circumstantials of that worship for which, when free from the dictation of kings and the domination of prelates, Scotland has shown a decided preference. But it may be permitted us, in a closing sentence, to enter a caveat against any line of action being taken affecting divine service conducted upon the Presbyterian model that would lead, on the one hand, to what is fundamental in that worship being changed, or, on the other, to what is subordinate being held a matter of primary importance. To modify and adapt Presbyterian worship so as to render it liturgical in the sense of making it the unvarying and prescribed worship enjoined in a prayer-book, mediæval or modern, would be, in our judgment, to go contrary to all that is characteristic of Presbyterian as distinguished from Episcopalian ritual. The genius of Presbyterian

government is not more anti-prelatic than that of Presbyterian worship is anti-liturgical.[60]

Again, to arrange the parts and details of Presbyterian worship on a sacramentarian basis, proceeding upon the theory that "the celebration of the Holy Communion is the distinctive ordinance of Christian worship,"[61] is, we submit,

[60] The most extreme proposal to Anglicise or Romanise, and so revolutionise, Presbyterian ritual, has come from India in two publications "by a Layman." 1st, 'Remarks on the Scottish Church, regarding her Ritual, Preaching, Standards, Administration, Vestment, and Architecture. With a Form of Service for Easter Sunday.' Calcutta: 1889. 2d, 'Proposed Restoration of the Liturgy according to the Use of the Ancient Scottish Church. With a Form of Service for Christ Mass.' Calcutta: 1890. Although he writes in the interests of the "Guid Auld Kirk," it is difficult to think of the Calcutta Layman as a Presbyterian when one finds him gravely proposing to discard "the sombre Geneva gown, which is a more appropriate covering for a lawyer than for a Christian bishop," in favour of the following wardrobe: "*Deacon.*—Surplice, with a black silk ribbon crossed over the shoulder from right to left. *Bishop.*—Surplice, narrow black silk stole, and the hood of his University degree. *Primus-Bishop.*—Surplice, purple velvet stole, and a scarlet merino hood. *Archbishop.*—Albe, purple velvet cope, and a hood made of lamb's-skin, lined with purple velvet. *Primate.*—Albe, and a dalmatic of purple velvet."

A more temperate plea for the employment of a Liturgy in Presbyterian worship was that put forth by the late James Lorimer, Regius Professor of Public Law in the University of Edinburgh, in a small publication having for title, 'A National Church demands a National Liturgy.' Edinb.: 1879. At the time he published his *brochure* Professor Lorimer was an Episcopalian (p. 20, n.), living "outside of all party organisations, both ecclesiastical and political."

[61] "When I joined this Society I was myself profoundly impressed, as I am to this hour, by the importance of the question as to the need of the celebration, according to a higher order, and more frequently, of the Holy Communion, in its relation both to the worship of the Church and to its effective work in the world. I believed then, as I believe now, that the celebration of the Holy Communion is, by divine institution, the distinctive ordinance of Christian worship. I believed that we had as little reason to doubt that it was our Lord's will, so far as we may learn it from the practice of His apostles, that the congregation should meet for the celebration of that rite every Lord's Day, as we have to doubt that it is the Lord's will that we should meet at all on the Lord's Day. And I then felt, as I feel now, that any reform in the matter of worship must, after all, be more or less superficial that does not touch that question. I was the more confirmed in my convictions upon that subject, from my knowledge that the restoration of the Holy Communion to its

utterly unhistorical, so far as Scotland is concerned. For however attractive the theory may be to minds imbued with the Anglican High Church or Catholic Apostolic view, and whatever may be advanced in favour of it gathered from patristic writings and alleged apostolic practice, it is vain to contend that the Eucharist is the key to such Presbyterian books of service as the Book of Common Order and the Directory for Public Worship.[62]

On the other hand, all who desire to manifest an intelligent appreciation of what is distinctive in Presbyterian ritual, would do well to guard against attaching undue importance or adhering too tenaciously to details of a past or present usage, as if these constituted the essentials from which there must never be the smallest deviation, of which there may never be the slightest modification or adaptation to altered requirements and circumstances.

Whether confession, supplication, thanksgiving, and intercession should all be poured forth promiscuously in one long prayer, or be distributed over three short prayers offered partly before and partly after the sermon; whether the reading of Holy Scripture should be determined by a Lectionary or Table of Proper Lessons, or be left to the choice of the officiating minister; whether the congregation should be silent except during the musical praise of the service, or should be active

proper place was in harmony with the opinion and belief of all the teachers who have been held in highest esteem in the Reformed Church of Scotland." —The Rev. Dr John MacLeod, Govan, in speech as chairman of the annual meeting of the C.S.S., 27th May 1891. The ablest and most exhaustive Anglican development and defence of this sacramentarian theory of Christian worship will be found in Canon Freeman's 'Principles of Divine Service.' "The Celebration of the HOLY COMMUNION, or EUCHARIST, is by universal consent the supreme act of Christian worship and service. Distinct from this, though nearly allied to it, is the more ordinary kind, known to us by the name of COMMON PRAYER."—Part I. chapter i. Section i. p. 34, vol. i. of cheaper reissue. Oxford and London: 1880.

[62] See Appendix O of this volume. The Communion Office of the Westminster Directory.

throughout by the alternative reading of the Psalms, by responses in prayer, and by the simultaneous recital of the Lord's Prayer and the Creeds, Apostolic and Nicene; whether the worship rendered in bringing an offering and coming into God's courts should be expressed by placing coin in "the plate" found in the vestibule, or by dropping it into a bag at a certain stage of the service, "the offertory" being subsequently laid upon the Communion-table,—the determining one way or another of such details cannot vitally affect Presbyterian worship. Our distinctive national ritual is something deeper and broader than any matter of posture, order of service, or aids to the more efficient rendering of the several parts; and it would be unwise in the highest degree for any lover of "the laudable form and ritual of the Reformed Church of Scotland"[63] to stake the continuance of these upon the maintenance of one set of the alternatives just specified, or to predict their overthrow should their opposites be adopted.

It is not possible to forecast the future in regard to most matters; it is perilous to predict what modifications changed circumstances may yet work upon time-honoured, fondly-clung-to usage. But one thing may be reckoned certain. So long as the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland maintain an attitude of allegiance to, and carry out in practice, the confessional theology of their common subordinate standard, their worship is in no danger of being radically altered or fundamentally impaired. For the findings of the 'Westminister Confession of Faith' touching divine service are such as do ample justice to what is distinctive in and essential to the Presbyterian platform, while at the same time they leave room for the modifying of details which each successive generation of worshippers may find desirable or necessary.

These confessional deliverances are worthy of being here reproduced, and the placing of them, not in the order of the

[63] "Juxta laudabilem Ecclesiæ Scotiæ Reformatæ formam et ritum."—Archbishop Grindal, 1582. Quoted by editors of 'Euchologion.'

chapters in which they occur, but in the sequence of primary and subordinate, of unalterable principle and permissible variation of practice, may form a fitting conclusion to this historical survey.

I. "THE ACCEPTABLE WAY OF WORSHIPPING THE TRUE GOD IS INSTITUTED BY HIMSELF, AND SO LIMITED BY HIS OWN REVEALED WILL, THAT HE MAY NOT BE WORSHIPPED ACCORDING TO THE IMAGINATIONS AND DEVICES OF MEN, OR THE SUGGESTIONS OF SATAN, UNDER ANY VISIBLE REPRESENTATION, OR ANY OTHER WAY NOT PRESCRIBED IN THE HOLY SCRIPTURE.

"RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IS TO BE GIVEN TO GOD, THE FATHER, SON, AND HOLY GHOST; AND TO HIM ALONE: NOT TO ANGELS, SAINTS, OR ANY OTHER CREATURE: AND, SINCE THE FALL, NOT WITHOUT A MEDIATOR; NOR IN THE MEDIATION OF ANY OTHER BUT OF CHRIST ALONE.

"PRAYER, WITH THANKSGIVING, BEING ONE SPECIAL PART OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP, IS BY GOD REQUIRED OF ALL MEN; AND, THAT IT MAY BE ACCEPTED, IT IS TO BE MADE IN THE NAME OF THE SON, BY THE HELP OF HIS SPIRIT, ACCORDING TO HIS WILL, WITH UNDERSTANDING, REVERENCE, HUMILITY, FERVENCY, FAITH, LOVE, AND PERSEVERANCE; AND, IF VOCAL, IN A KNOWN TONGUE.

"THE READING OF THE SCRIPTURES WITH GODLY FEAR; THE SOUND PREACHING, AND CONSCIONABLE HEARING OF THE WORD, IN OBEDIENCE UNTO GOD, WITH UNDERSTANDING, FAITH, AND REVERENCE; SINGING OF PSALMS WITH GRACE IN THE HEART; AS ALSO THE DUE ADMINISTRATION AND WORTHY RECEIVING OF THE SACRAMENTS INSTITUTED BY CHRIST; ARE ALL PARTS OF THE ORDINARY RELIGIOUS WORSHIP OF GOD."[64]

II. "GOD ALONE IS LORD OF THE CONSCIENCE, AND HATH LEFT IT FREE FROM THE DOCTRINES AND COMMANDMENTS OF MEN WHICH ARE IN ANY THING CONTRARY TO HIS WORD, OR BESIDE [OUTSIDE OF] IT, IN MATTERS OF FAITH OR WORSHIP."[65]

III. "THE WHOLE COUNSEL OF GOD, CONCERNING ALL THINGS NECESSARY FOR HIS OWN GLORY, MAN'S SALVATION, FAITH, AND LIFE, IS EITHER EXPRESSLY SET DOWN IN SCRIPTURE, OR BY GOOD AND NECESSARY CONSEQUENCE MAY BE DEDUCED FROM SCRIPTURE: UNTO

[64] 'Westminster Confession of Faith,' chap. xxi., i. ii. iii. v.

[65] Ibid., chap. xx., ii.

WHICH NOTHING AT ANY TIME IS TO BE ADDED, WHETHER BY NEW REVELATIONS OF THE SPIRIT, OR TRADITIONS OF MEN. NEVERTHELESS WE ACKNOWLEDGE THE INWARD ILLUMINATION OF THE SPIRIT OF GOD TO BE NECESSARY FOR THE SAVING UNDERSTANDING OF SUCH THINGS AS ARE REVEALED IN THE WORD; AND THAT THERE ARE SOME CIRCUMSTANCES CONCERNING THE WORSHIP OF GOD, AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH, COMMON TO HUMAN ACTIONS AND SOCIETIES, WHICH ARE TO BE ORDERED BY THE LIGHT OF NATURE AND CHRISTIAN PRUDENCE, ACCORDING TO THE GENERAL RULES OF THE WORD, WHICH ARE ALWAYS TO BE OBSERVED."[66]

[66] Ibid., chap. i., vi.

# APPENDIX

# APPENDIX.

## APPENDIX A.

SCOTTISH SERVICE FOR VISITATION AND COMMUNION OF THE SICK IN TWELFTH CENTURY. From the 'Book of Deer.' Period I., page 14.

*Item oratio ante dominicam orationem.*

Creator naturarum omnium Deus, et parens universarum in celo et in terra originum, has trementis populi Tui relegiosas preces ex illo inaccesibileis lucis trono Tuo suscipe, et inter hiruphin et zaraphin indefessas circumstantium laudes exaudi spei non ambigue precationes.

Pater noster Qui es—— *usque in finem.*

Libera nos, Domine, a malo; Domine Christe Ihesu, custodi nos semper in omni opere bona; fons et auctor omnium bonorum Deus, evacua nos uitiis, et reple nos uirtutibus bonis: per Te, Christe Ihesu.[1]

*Hisund dubar sacorfaice dau.* [Here give the sacrifice to him.]

Corpus cum sanguine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi sanitas sit tibi in uitam perpetuā et salutem.

[1] "This embolismus resembles in its wording very closely the forms preserved in the Gallican Liturgies. 'Libera nos a malo, evacua nos a vitiis et reple nos virtutibus,' is taken from the Mis. Richenovense, the most pure and ancient specimen yet discovered of the Ephesine Liturgy, without any trace of its having been interpolated with Roman Collects."—F. E. Warren.

Reffecti Christi corpore et sanguine, Tibi semper dicamus, Domine, alleluia, alleluia.

Quia satiauit animam inanem, et animam essurientem satiauit bonis, alleluia, alleluia.

Et sacrificent sacrificium laudis,—et usque exultatione, alleluia, alleluia.

Calicem salutaris accipiam, et nomen Domini inuocabo, alleluia, alleluia.

Reffecti Christi corpore, alleluia, alleluia.

Laudate Dominum omnes gentes, alleluia, alleluia.

Gloria.

Reffecti Christi, alleluia, alleluia.

Et nunc, et semper.

Reffecti.

Sacrificate sacrificium iustitiæ et sperate in Domino.

Deus, Tibi gratias agimus per Quem misteria sancta celebrauimus, et a Te sanctitatis dona deposcimus; miserere nobis, Domine salvator mundi, Qui regnas in secula seculorum, Amen.[1] Finit.[2]

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## APPENDIX B.

Latin Litany used by the Scottish Culdees in Fifteenth Century. From MSS. in Monastery at Ratisbon. Period I., p. 24.

Antiquæ Litaniæ in veteri Monasterio Dunkeldensi usitatæ, quas in publicis Processionibus cantare solebant Kiledei communiter Culdei appelati.

Kirie eleison. Kirie eleison. Kirie eleison.
Christe eleison. Christe eleison. Christe eleison.

[1] "This collect, occurring also in the Books of Dimma, Mulling, and Stowe Missal, appears twice in a nearly similar form in the 'Missale Gothicum.' It is not found in any of the Roman Sacramentaries."—Warren.

[2] "No other MS. liturgical remains known to exist in Scotland are connected with the Scoto-Celtic Church."—Warren.

Pater de cœlis Deus, Filius Redemptor Deus, Spiritus Sanctus Deus, Qui es Trinus et Unus Deus, Miserere nobis.
Sancta Maria, Sancta Virgo Virginum, Sancta Dei Genetrix, Ora pro nobis.

. . . . . .

Christe audi nos. ℟. Christe audi nos.
Christe audi nos.
Kyrie eleison. ℟. Kyrie eleison.
Kyrie eleison.
Christe eleison. ℟. Christe eleison.
Christe eleison.
Tu Christe nobis concede gratiam Tuam.
Tu Christe nobis dona gaudium et pacem.
Tu Christe nobis concede vitam et salutem.
Amen.

*Oratio.*

Omnipotens et Almifice Deus, Majestatem Tuam suppliciter exoramus, ut per mirifica merita et orationes Sanctorum recensitorum, et per magnificas intercessiones Sanctæ Genitricis Tuæ Mariæ, omnium Patriarcharum, Prophetarum, Apostolorum, Martyrum, Episcoporum, Abbatum, Confessorum, et Monachorum, Virginum, et Viduarum, Tecum in cœlo regnantium, nobis concedas veniam et indulgentiam omnium peccatorum, augmentum gratiæ Tuæ cœlestis, et efficax auxilium Tuum contra omnes insidias inimicorum nostrorum visibilium et invisibilium ; quatenus et corda nostra, solis Tuis mandatis dedita, tandem post hujus mortalis vitæ terminum, et eorum Sanctorum speciem et gloriam in regno Dei videre, et cum eis, congaudere mereamur; præstante Domino Nostro Jesu Christo Redemptore nostro, cui et honor et potestas et imperium, una cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.[1]

[1] A paper on the 'Ancient Litany of Dunkeld' was read to the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society on December 17, 1889, by the Rev. T. Newbigging Adamson, (Barnhill, St Margaret's, Presbytery of Dundee, Church of Scotland), in the course of which it was stated that the above "has been adapted for modern use, printed and set to plain song by the writer of this article, in whose church it is sung every Friday. In the adaptation of this Litany for modern use, the invocations of saints and angels are replaced by petitions for angelic ministrations and for the Second Advent in answer to the prayers of the saints (Rev. vi. 10). As few changes as possible have been made elsewhere, the collect being adapted and retained. The whole sings well, and is very much liked."—'Transactions of Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society,' 1889.

# APPENDIX C.

## I.—Rubrics for Dedication of Scottish Churches in Thirteenth Century. Period I., p. 48.

The author of 'The Church of Scotland in the Thirteenth Century' gives some passages from the Pontifical, forming "only about an eighth part of the service," in which part the following rubrics and prayers find a place :—

*Hæc sunt quæ ad dedicationem ecclesiæ præparanda sunt: Duodecim cruces pictæ foris et duodecim intus, Crux, candelabra, viginti quatuor cerei, duodecim deforis et duodecim intus, vasa convenientia ad sacrandam et ad deferendam aquam; Duo majores cerei ad candelabra; viginti quatuor clavi quibus cerei infigantur; Oleum sanctum et chrisma, ysopum, sabulum vel cineres, vinum, sal, majora grana incensi; Panni altaris.*

*Deinde hoc ordine consecretur domus Dei.*

*Primitùs, præsul et cæteri ministri ecclesiæ induant se vestimentis sacris cum quibus divinum ministerium adimplere debent. Et dum se induunt, dictis consuetis Psalmis, id est* Judica me Deus et, Quam dilecta, Inclina Domine, Memento Domine. . . .

*Deinde dicat episcopus hanc Orationem.*

Deus, qui paternâ majestate ignea claustra dirupisti infernorum, et sanguine tuo populum tibi adquisisti sempiternum; indue nos armis spiritualibus virtutum, et invictâ sanctæ crucis potentiâ, ut contra diabolum pugnaturi te in auxilium habeamus, quatenus tibi hæreditatem de iniquo diaboli spolio adquiramus; et qui in domum Zachæi quondam miseratus descendisti, ad domum quoque hanc quam sanctificaturi sumus venire dignare; et populos qui ad ejus dedicationem convenerunt, spirituali gaudio munera, Salvator mundi, Domine Jesu Christe, Qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

*Post hæc veniat episcopus de tentorio cum processione ante ostium ecclesiæ quæ dedicanda est, hanc sonoriter cantando.* Zazchæe festinans descende. . . .

*Quâ finitâ, dicatur a præsule.* Dominus vobiscum.

*Oremus.* Actiones nostras, quæsumus, Domine, et aspirando præveni et adjuvando prosequere; ut, interveniente beatâ et gloriosâ

semperque virgine Dei genitrice Mariâ cum omnibus sanctis cuncta nostra operatio et à te semper incipiat, et per te cœpta finiatur. . . .

*Et illuminentur duodecim cerei et ponantur deforis per circuitum ecclesiæ quæ dedicanda est, et totidem intus; tumque circumeant ipsam ecclesiam deforis cum processione et sanctorum reliquiis, canendo hanc Letaniam.*

. . . . . .

*Finitâ vero Letaniâ, dicantur ab episcopo hæ Orationes ante ostium ecclesiæ, &c.*

## II.—List of Parish Churches, Chapels, etc., in Twelve Scottish Counties, thus dedicated in the middle of the Thirteenth Century, with Pontifical Names.

### I.—Berwickshire.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Berwick, Church of the Holy Trinity | Ecclesia Sancte Trinitatis de Berwyck reconciliata propter effusionem sanguinis in eadem. |
| 2. | " Church of St Nicholas | Eccl. Sancti Nicholai de Berwyck. |
| 3. | Channelkirk . . . . | Eccl. de Childenechirch. |
| 4. | Chirnside . . . . | " Cherneside. |
| 5. | Coldstream . . . . | " Kaldestrem. |
| 6. | Earlston . . . . . | " Erseldun. |
| 7. | Eccles . . . . . | " Ecclis. |
| 8. | Fogo . . . . . | " Fogeho. |
| 9. | Gordon . . . . . | " Gordun. |
| 10. | Greenlaw . . . . | " Greenlawe. |
| 11. | Hilton and Whitsome . . | " Hiltun. |
| 12. | Hirsel, Coldstream . . . | " Hershille. |
| 13. | Horndean . . . . | " Worucrden. |
| 14. | Hutton . . . . . | " Hotun. |
| 15. | Langton . . . . . | " Langetun. |
| 16. | Legerwood . . . . | " Leiardewde. |
| 17. | Lennel, Coldstream . . . | " Leinhah. |
| 18. | Longformacus . . . . | " Ellum. |
| 19. | Merton . . . . . | " Mertuna juxta Dryburgh. |
| 20. | Polwarth . . . . . | " Polwurth. |
| 21. | Swinton, Simprin . . . | " Simprig. |

### II.—Clackmannanshire.

| | |
|---|---|
| Clackmannan . . . . | Eccl. de Clackmanan. |

### III.—Edinburghshire.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Carrington . . . . | Eccl. de Kerntun. |
| 2. | Cockpen . . . . . | " Kokepen. |
| 3. | Cranston . . . . . | " Cranestun. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4. | East Calder | Eccl. de Calledouer. |
| 5. | Edinburgh, St Cuthbert's | Eccl. Sancti Cuthberti de Edinburg prope Castrum. |
| 6. | " St Giles | Eccl. Sancti Egidii de Edenburg. |
| 7. | Gogar | Eccl. de Goggere. |
| 8. | Hales | " Halis. |
| 9. | Heriot | " Heriet. |
| 10. | Lasswade | " Lessewade. |
| 11. | Mid-Calder | " Calledouer Comitis. |
| 12. | Wedale, Stow | " Wedal. |
| 13. | Woolmet in Newton | " Wymeth. |

## IV.—Fifeshire.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Abdie | Eccl. de Ebedyn. |
| 2. | Abercrombie, St Monance | " Abercrombie. |
| 3. | Anstruther | " Eynstrother. |
| 4. | Auchterderran | " Vrchardereth. |
| 5. | Auchtermuchty | " Vchermukedi. |
| 6. | Collessie | " Calesyn. |
| 7. | Crail | " Keral. |
| 8. | Cults | " Quilte. |
| 9. | Dairsie | " Deruesyn. |
| 10. | Dysart | " Disarth. |
| 11. | Flisk | " Flisch. |
| 12. | Inverkeithing | " Inuerkethyn. |
| 13. | Kelly, Carnbee | " Kelly. |
| 14. | Kemback | " Kembach. |
| 15. | Kilconquhar | " Kilcunewath. |
| 16. | Kilgour, Falkland | " Kilgoueryn. |
| 17. | Kilrenny | " Kilretheny. |
| 18. | Kinghorn | " Magna Kingorn. |
| 19. | " | " Parua Kingorn. |
| 20. | Kinglassie | " Kinglassyn. |
| 21. | Largo | " Largath. |
| 22. | Lathrisk | " Losserech. |
| 23. | Leslie | " Methkal. |
| 24. | Leuchars | " Locres. |
| 25. | Markinch | " Marking. |
| 26. | Moonzie, Cupar | " Vchthermunesin. |
| 27. | Newburn | " Nethbren. |
| 28. | Scotstarvet | " Tarvet. |
| 29. | Scoonie | " Sconyn. |
| 30. | St Andrews | Eccl. parochialis Sancti Andree. |

## V.—Forfarshire.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Aberlemno | Eccl. de Aberlimenach. |
| 2. | Airlie | " Erlyn. |
| 3. | Arbroath, St Vigeans | Eccl. Sancti Vigiani de Aberbrothock. |
| 4. | Auldbar | Eccl. de Aldebarr. |
| 5. | Barry | " Barri. |
| 6. | Benvie | " Beneuyn. |
| 7. | Eassie | " Essy. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 8. | Forfar | Eccl. de Forfare. |
| 9. | Glammis | " Glames. |
| 10. | Inchbrayock, Craig | " Inchebrioch. |
| 11. | Inverkeilor | " Inuerculethere. |
| 12. | Inverarity | " Inverarethin. |
| 13. | Kettins | " Kettenes. |
| 14. | Kinnettles | " Kinettles. |
| 15. | Kirkden, Idvie | " Edvin. |
| 16. | Lochee | " Logyndua. |
| 17. | Logie | " Logincuthel. |
| 18. | Newtyle | " Newetyl. |
| 19. | Restennet | " Rustinoth. |
| 20. | Strathmartin | " Strahittinmartin. |
| 21. | Tannadyce | " Tanetheys. |

## VI.—Haddingtonshire.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Athelstaneford | Eccl. de Elftanefford. |
| 2. | Auldhame | " Aldha. |
| 3. | Bolton | " Boltun. |
| 4. | Garvald and Bara | " Baruwe. |
| 5. | Gullane | " Golyn. |
| 6. | Innerwick | " Inuerwyck. |
| 7. | Linton | " Lintun. |
| 8. | Morham | " Morham. |
| 9. | North Berwick | Eccl. Monialium Conventualium de Northberwyk. |
| 10. | Oldhamstocks | Eccl. de Aldhamstock. |
| 11. | Pencaitland | " Penkathland. |
| 12. | Salton | " Saultune. |
| 13. | Seaton | " Seethun. |
| 14. | Whittinghame | " Wytingeha. |
| 15. | Yester | " Yestrith. |

## VII.—Kincardineshire.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Arbuthnott | Eccl. de Aberbuthenott. |
| 2. | Cowie, Chapel of | " Capella de Collyn. |
| 3. | Dunottar | " Dunothyr. |
| 4. | Feteresso | " Fethirassoch. |
| 5. | Fordoun | " Fordune. |
| 6. | Kineff | " Kineff. |
| 7. | Laurencekirk | " Cuneueth. |
| 8. | Marykirk | " Aberlutheroth. |
| 9. | Nigg | " Nig. |
| 10. | St Cyrus | " Egglesgerch. |
| 11. | Strachan | " Strachyn. |

## VIII.—Kinross-shire.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Church of the Hospital of Scotland's Well | Eccl. Hospitalis de Fonte Scotie. |
| 2. | Kinross | " de Kinross. |
| 3. | Portmoak | " Porthmoolk. |

IX.—Linlithgowshire.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Carriden | Eccl. de Karreden. |
| 2. | Ecclesmachan | " Eglemanechy. |
| 3. | Kirkliston | " Listun. |
| 4. | Linlithgow | " Linlethcu. |
| 5. | Livingstone | " Leuingest. |

X.—Perthshire.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Blairgowrie | Eccl. de Blare. |
| 2. | Collace | " Culas prope Perth. |
| 3. | Errol | " Erol. |
| 4. | Forteviot | " Fertheuiet. |
| 5. | Fowlis Easter | " Fugeles. |
| 6. | Inchture | " Inchethor. |
| 7. | Methven | " Methfen. |
| 8. | Perth | " Pert. |
| 9. | " Church of Preaching Friars | Eccl. Fratrum predicatorum de Pert. |
| 10. | Rossie | Eccl. de Rossinclerath. |

XI.—Roxburghshire.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Kelso | Eccl. de Kalcho. |
| 2. | Smailholm | " Smalham. |
| 3. | Stitchell | " Stichill. |

XII.—Stirlingshire.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Airth | Eccl. de Erth. |
| 2. | Falkirk | Eccl. que vocatur Varia capella. |
| 3. | St Ninians, once Kirkton. | Eccl. de Kirketun. |

The foregoing list contains 142 names of parish churches, chapels, hospitals, &c., and proves, as Mr Lockhart remarks, "that all the churches therein named were in existence in Scotland in the middle of the thirteenth century."

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## APPENDIX D.

### Eight Scottish Prayers from Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism, 1552. Period II., p. 54.

I. *O our father quhilk is in hevin.*

O our Father, Eternal God, Who hast made us and all creatures, but hast made us in Thine own likeness, and all the rest of Thy

creatures for us, and hast given us dominion over all that is in earth, water, and air, and hast caused the heavens, the sun, the moon, and the stars to render us service, and hast given command to Thy angels to keep us, speedily defend us from all evil, and give us all good. Although we and our forefathers, as most unthankful creatures, have sold ourselves by sin to the devil's tyranny, and therefore by right ought to dread Thee as our terrible Judge and Condemner, nevertheless, since it is so that Thou of Thy excellent and infinite mercy hast sent us Thy Son to deliver us from the devil's tyranny, death and hell, and by Him, His word, faith, and baptism, hast begotten us again and made us Thy sons by adoption, and by Him also hast bidden us call Thee Father: we beseech Thee, therefore, O merciful Father, eternal God, by Thy natural Son Jesus Christ, give to us Thy Holy Spirit, to bear witness with our spirits that we are Thy sons by adoption, by Whom also we may call Thee Father with gladness, and rely surely on Thy fatherly and merciful providence and help in all trouble. Give us grace, O Eternal Father, that we may have evermore brotherly love, and may know ourselves verily as brothers and sisters to help one another, and to pray one for another to Thee our Eternal Father. Take from us all discord and individual love of self and our own profit, that we may say with truth: O our Father, Eternal God, Who art in heaven, not shut up in heaven, but Who art in all places by substance, presence, and power, and Who by faith and grace dwellest in all just men and women, and Who in the heavenly kingdom dost show Thy eternal glory, joy, and bliss, give us grace, O Father Eternal, to have sure hope to come to that glory, and to be dwellers in heaven with Thee evermore. Amen.

II. *Hallowit be thi name.*

O God almighty our eternal Father, give us grace that Thy name which is holy, laudable, and blessed in itself evermore, and also by Angels in heaven, might be known, thanked, and praised among us to whom Thou hast given Thy name to know and to be called Thy sons, and, after Thy Son's name, Christian men, grant us that our minds, our words and works, our teaching and life, be conformed to Thy godly will, expressed and shown to us in Thy Son's evangel, that men seeing our good conversation may praise Thy name that works all good in us. O Father, give Thy grace to Turks, Saracens, Pagans, and Jews, who do not know Thy name

and give Thy godly name to creatures, and blaspheme Thy Son's blood, that they may forsake their error, their idolatry and superstition, and know Thee the very eternal God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent. Grant, good Father, that evil Christian men, who dishonour Thy Son's name by vicious life, may be reformed in mind, word, and deed, and lead their life after His teaching to the glory of Thy name. Amen.

III. *Let thi kingdom cum to.*

O heavenly and most merciful Father, we beseech Thee that all unfaithful nations, Turks, Pagans, and Jews, who through infidelity are subject to the kingdom of the devil, may receive and keep the evangel of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and by a living faith enter and abide in Thy spiritual kingdom of grace, made with us Thy sons, justified, and fellow-partakers of Thy eternal heritage. Grant also, O merciful Father, that all men and women, who err from the true faith of holy Church, and thereby are subject to the kingdom of the devil, that they may leave their damnable and condemned heresies, and return again to the true catholic faith. Grant also that all temporal kings and magistrates of Christendom, who through their tyranny oppress and put down Thy Church, and destroy Thy people by unjust wars, and all other kings whom the devil holds in his kingdom by pride, covetousness, and sensual lust and pleasure, that they may leave their tyranny and other vices, and be true ministers of justice under the King of all kings and Lord of all lords, and so belong to Thy spiritual kingdom of grace. Grant also that Thy kingdom of grace may come to us daily more and more, by true showing of Thy godly will and Thy Son's evangel and righteousness of faith. Give us grace to persevere in Thy praise, charity, and Christian life, that Thy Son's kingdom may spread and flourish over all the world, by right faith and Christian works, until Satan and all Thy Son's foes be subject under His feet. Grant, O merciful Father, that Thou may so reign in our hearts by grace, that on the latter day we may stand on Thy right hand in the number of those whom that day Thou shalt call to Thee, and give to us entrance and possession of Thy glorious kingdom of heaven, there to reign with Thee, Who art three persons and one eternal God, in the company and fellowship of Thy holy angels, in joy and bliss without end. Amen.

IV. *Thi will be fulfillit in eird as it is in hevin.*

O merciful Father and mighty King, Whose will the angels of heaven fulfil at all time willingly, lovingly, and perfectly, Whose will no creature can resist, we know that our heart is ever evil in deed, or else inclined to evil at all times, to fulfil lust, to desire dominion, vengeance, our own profit and pleasure, without fear and dread of Thee, and plainly do all things contrary to Thy word and godly will. The devil labours always to cause us to break Thy commands, to mistrust Thee, blaspheme Thee, Thy Son's name and blood, and trust in him, his kingdom, pride, superstition, hypocrisy, and idolatry. He raises the world, that is to say evil men, to despise, hate, persecute, and trouble all Thy servants, who are willing to observe and keep Thy commands. Wherefore we beseech Thee, O merciful Father, let us not follow our own will or be deceived by the devil, but give us will and love of Thy law, to be good by Thy Spirit, to fulfil Thy divine will in prosperity and adversity, to take patiently for the glory of Thy name all trouble in goods or in body, even painful death, rather than we wilfully break Thy command. Grant us that we may, with the angels of heaven, be obedient to Thy will, perfectly, lovingly, and constantly; give Thy grace to sinners, that they may fulfil Thy will, as good men do. Guide us all in body and soul, to be evermore obedient to Thy divine will, and thank Thee for all whatever Thou wilt have done with us, so that finally we may obtain the life eternal which it is Thy will be given to all the true servants of Thy Son Jesus Christ. Amen.

V. *Geve us this day our daily breid.*

O merciful Father, almighty God, although Thou knowest what we need before ever we open our mouth to ask Thee, and dost forbid us to be careful for food and clothing, seeing that all necessary things shall be given to us, if so be we seek first the Kingdom of God and the righteousness of it, nevertheless, after Thy own bidding, we dare ask now our daily bread, which is necessary to our bodily sustenance, beseeching Thee also to feed our souls with the pure word that cometh forth of Thy mouth, the true word of God. Give us the bread that cometh forth from heaven and giveth life to the world. Give us the water of life, the understanding of the law by Thy Spirit, of the which whosoever drinks shall never be thirsty. Give us the body of our Saviour Christ, the right food of our souls, to strengthen our spirit against the fiend, so that we

never see eternal death, but pass with our Saviour Jesus (according to His promise) from death to life. Amen.

VI. *And forgeve us our dettis, evin as we forgeve to our dettouris.*

O heavenly and merciful Father, considering our own infirmity, frailty, and inclination to sin, whereby we fall into sin daily, we beseech Thee to forgive us all our sins and all penalties that we have deserved for our sins. Give strength to our spirit that we may firmly believe that Thou, O heavenly Father, hast forgiven us all our sins freely, for Thy Son's blood. And that the token which Thy Son has given to us of free forgiveness may comfort our minds, give us grace to overcome our own wicked and revengeful heart, to forgive our enemies with our heart, to love them, pray for them, do good to them, that so doing we may obtain at Thy merciful hand forgiveness of all our sins, for the merits of Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

VII. *Leid us nocht into temptation.*

Since so it is, O merciful Father, that all our life upon earth is one continual battle, and that with such enemies that we cannot escape their temptation, give us grace to refrain our hearts from consenting to their temptation: give us grace so to nourish our flesh that we nourish not also the sinful lust and concupiscence of the flesh. Give us grace so to live in the company of worldly people, that we be not drawn to evil by their evil counsel and example or persecution. Give us grace, strength, and power so by faith to resist the power of the devil that we be not overcome by his subtle provocations. Leave us not to our own feebleness, neither give him leave to exercise upon us his cruelty, but give us spiritual strength to stand stoutly against him. Belt our loins with verity. Put upon us the breastplate of righteousness. Let the feet of our mind (which are our affections) be shod with the gospel of peace. Above all things give us grace to take hold of the buckler of faith, wherewith we may quench the fiery darts of the wicked spirit. Put on our head the helmet of salvation. Let us always bear in our hand the sword of the Spirit, which is Thy holy word, that with this spiritual harness, armour, and weapons, we may easily overcome all our spiritual enemies, and finally obtain the crown of glory, which Thou hast prepared and promised to all Thy servants. Amen.

VIII. *Bot delivir us fra evil. Amen.*

O mighty and merciful Father, God eternal, who correctest and chastisest them whom Thou lovest, and scourgest with temporal adversity all Thy sons whom Thou receivest to Thy favour, Thou forgivest them their sins in time of their trouble. Thou wilt oftentimes wound them and cure their wounds again; Thy hand strikes them and heals them again. Give us grace, good Lord, that we neglect not Thy discipline and fatherly correction, but when it is Thy divine will to send us temporal adversity, we beseech Thee give us also spiritual consolation and comfort in them through hope of the eternal joy and glory to come. And not according to our sensual will, but according to Thy divine will, deliver us from all dangers and perils of fire and water, of lightning and thunder, of hunger and dearth, sedition and battle, of quarrel and annoyance, sickness and pestilence, prison and banishment, unforeseen and sudden death, and other adversities, calamities, and troubles of this present world, so that by them we be not overcome in our mind by impatience, murmuring, or any other sin contrary to Thy divine will. And when it pleaseth Thee to send any of them to us for our trial and just correction, give us also patience, comfort, and consolation, that we may be in this world so corrected and punished with Thy merciful hand, that we may escape the pains eternal. Amen. So be it.

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## APPENDIX E.

### The Frankfort Draft of the Book of Common Order.

Period II., p. 84.

Writing in 1875, the late Professor Lorimer of London described the effort to secure uniformity in the conduct of public worship at Frankfort as of the nature of a "compromise"—"all that could, for the present, be gained in this divided state of opinion and feeling—an 'Order' which could be accepted equally by Knox and his colleague, Thomas Lever, . . . who, though a Puritan as well as Knox, did not go the same length as he in his repugnance to

King Edward's liturgy. The account handed down to us of this compromise is honourable to the moderation of all parties" ('John Knox and the Church of England,' ch. vi. p. 210).

In a communication to the 'Scotsman,' dated September 8, 1890, purporting to treat of "John Knox and the English Liturgy," the Rev. Dr Sprott of North Berwick[1] applies to the Order of Frankfort the title, "The Liturgy of Compromise," and describes it as one which "contained the substance of the English service, with the omission of the sign of the cross in baptism, the rubric enjoining kneeling at the Communion, the use of the ring in marriage, and some other things which Knox and his friends regarded as 'Popish dregs.'" At an after-stage of his paper Dr Sprott gives the following information regarding the subsequent history of this Frankfort draft of the Book of Common Order: "Curiously enough, the liturgy of compromise which he [Knox] helped to draw up at Frankfort, and which he used for some time, is still extant in MS. Some account of it is given in the report of the Historical MSS. Commission for 1871 by a well-known antiquary, the Rev. Joseph Stevenson. It was then deposited in the library of Oscott College, near Birmingham, and is now in the hands of a gentleman in Leicester. . . . It was for some time in the hands of the late Professor Lorimer of the English Presbyterian Church, and a description of it is given in one of his lectures."

Through the kindness of Dr Mitchell of St Andrews I am able to set before my readers a brief description of the contents of this valuable document, and some extracts from the same.

I. *The Title:* "The Order of Common Praeir—The Ministration of Christis holie Sacramentes, and of Christian Disciplyne usede in thye Englische Congregacion at Ffranckeforde."

II. *The Preface.* At the outset it is stated, "In the Booke of Common Praier last set forthe by the autoritie of Kynge Edwarde of most famous memorye,[2] we neither condempe, iudge, nor refuse enythinge as wicked or repugnant to the treue sence and meaneinge of Godes worde." Nevertheless, "we have omytted in respect of tyme, place, and such circumstances, certaine rites and ceremonyes appointed in the said booke as thinges of their owne nature indiffer-

[1] The paper is written above the initials "G. W. S.," which leave no room for surmise as to the identity of the writer.

[2] The reference is to the Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI., 1552.

ent." And so, out of the book there has been "collected this Compendious Order, whereunto a discipline is annexed, with a Catechisme," all which are offered "to the whole Congregacion to observe and keepe for the present time."

III. *Order of Common Prayer at Morning Service.*

(1.) "Fuste a Psalme sunge be the whole Congregacion; then the followinge: (2.) The Minister.

"*At what tyme soever a synner dothe repent hym of his synnes,*" &c., as in Edwardian Prayer-Book, first sentence.

(3.) An Exhortation. "DEARLYE beloved brethrene, the Scripture moveth us in sundry places," &c., as in Edwardian Prayer-Book.

(4.) A general Confession: "ALMIGHTIE and Most Merciful father, we have erred and strayed from Thy wayes, lyke lost sheep," &c., as in English Prayer-Book.

(5.) The Absolution: "ALMIGHTY GOD, the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which desireth not the death of a synner," &c., as in English Prayer-Book.

(6.) The Lord's Prayer, all the people joining with the minister.

(7.) O Lord, open thou our lipps," &c., as in English Prayer-Book.

(8.) "Then shal be saide the psalmes after the Order of the booke, and a chapter of the Olde Testamente—and this psalme of thanksgivinge—'We praise thee,' &c. [Te Deum], or, 'O all ye workes,' &c. [Benedicite omnia opera].

(9). The Creed, with prayers following, or, sometimes, the Litany.

(10.) The Sermon, followed by a prayer, not contained in the English service-book, and bearing specially upon "the exiled condition of the Congregacion and the Churche of Englande which is desolate."

IV. *Evening Service.* To be according to the Order of the Booke, with one Scripture lesson, taken probably from the New Testament. The sermon to be followed by a prayer in which mention is made of Kynge Philippe and Quene Marye, and which is inserted at the end of the MS.

V. *The Communion.* This Sacrament is to be dispensed on the first Sunday of every month, and on the Thursday preceding there is to be an exhortation by the pastor or some other minister. The order of the Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. is followed through-

out with a few omissions—*e.g.*, the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, "proper prefaces," and the ascription beginning with "Therefore with Angels and Archangels." The Nicene Creed has a place in the service, but no rubric enjoining *kneeling*. Throughout "Minister" is substituted for "Priest."

VI. *Baptism.* The order for Public Baptism adheres also to that of "the Booke." But the sign of the cross ("Then the Priest shall make a crosse upon the chyld's forehead") is omitted; and while the godfathers and godmothers are interrogated, as in the English Prayer-Book, the father of the child is also addressed and placed under baptismal obligations.

VII. *Marriage.* In "The Forme of Solemnization of Matrimony" the Order in "The Fourme of Solemnizacyon of Matrymonye" is observed, the action and utterance connected with the ring being omitted.[1]

VIII. *Visitation of the Sick.* To be done not by the pastor alone, but also by elders and deacons; in other respects the order of the English Prayer-Book to be followed. No order is provided for "The Communion of the Sicke."

IX. *Burial.* "In one worde to be as it is in the Book." The Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. contains "The Ordre for the Buriall of the Dead," with its statement by the priest, "FORASMUCHE as it hathe pleased almightie God of his great mercy to take unto himselfe the soule of our dere brother here departed: we therefore commit his body to the ground, earth to earth, asshes to asshes, dust to dust, in sure and certayne hope of resurreccion to eternal lyfe, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall chaunge our vyle bodye, that it maye bee lyke to his glorious bodye, according to the mightie working wherby he is hable to subdue all thinges to himselfe;" with

[1] From 1552 to the present day the following has been the ring ceremony in the Church of England Solemnisation of Matrimony. "The Man shall give unto the Woman a Ring" ["and other tokens of spousage, as golde or siluer" —Prayer-Book of 1549], laying the same upon the book, with the accustomed duty to the Priest and Clerk [no mention of the "accustomed duty" in edition of 1549]. And the Priest, taking the Ring, shall deliver it unto the Man, to put it upon the fourth finger of the Woman's left hand. And the Man holding the Ring there, and taught by the Priest, *shall say:* 'With this Ring I thee wed ["Thys golde and siluer I thee geue," 1549], with my body I thee worship, and with all my worldly goods I thee endow: In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.' Then the Man leaving the Ring upon the fourth finger of the Woman's left hand, they shall both kneel down; and the Minister *shall say.*"

its prayer, beginning: "ALMIGHTIE God, with whom doe lyue the spirites of them that departe hence in the lord;" and ending with "The Collect: O MERCIFUL God, the father of our Lorde Jesus Christe, who is the resurreccion and the lyfe, in whom whosoeuer beleueth, shall lyue though he dye; and whosoeuer liueth and beleueth in hym shall not dye eternally: who also taught us (by his holy Apostle Paule) not to be sorye, as men without hope, for them that slepe in hym: We mekely beseche thee (O Father) to raise us from the death of sinne unto the life of righteousnes, that when we shal depart thys lyfe, we may reste in him, as our hope is thys our brother doeth; and that at the general resurreccion in the laste daye, we may be founde acceptable in thy syghte, and receiue that blessing which thy welbeloued sonne shall then pronounce to al that loue and feare thee, saying: Come, ye blessed children of my father, receiue the kyngdome prepared for you from the beginning of the world. Graunt this we beseche thee, O merciful father, through Jesus Christ our mediatour and redeyemer. Amen."

X. *The Catechism.* Described as "an Instruction to be learned of every child before he be brought and admitted to receive the Lord's Supper." No mention is made of "Confirmacion," as provided for in the English Prayer-Book. The Catechism is made up in part of a few of the opening questions and answers in the 1552 "Catechisme, that is to say, an Instruccion to be learned of euery chyld, before he be brought to be confyrmed of the Bisshoppe," beginning with "What is your name? N or M;" and partly of portions of a "Brief Catechism" published by authority in 1553, of which Bishop Poinet, himself an exile and who died at Strasburg, was the author.

XI. *The Order of Discipline.* This is the same as that drawn up at the formation of the Frankfort congregation, and which came to be spoken of as the Old Discipline, to distinguish it from what, as a development of the old, was called the New or additional. The new discipline expressly affirmed what the old did not —the Presbyterian parity of Church office-bearers, the first protest by English Puritans against the principle of diocesan prelacy. It was drawn up, "reformed and confirmed by the authority off the Churche and Magistrate," in 1557.

## APPENDIX F.

### A Printed Prayer used in the Highlands before Sermon. Sixteenth Century. Period III., p. 128.

In his preface to the reprint of Bishop Carswell's 'Book of Common Order' translated into Gaelic, Dr M'Lauchlan remarks, "There is one prayer of which he was unable to find the exact original in any copy of the Prayer-Book which he has seen" (p. xi). This apparently original Highland prayer is placed immediately after "Another manner of Prayer after the Sermon" (Knox's 'Works,' vol. vi. pp. 299-303; Carswell's Gaelic Prayer-Book, pp. 73-86), and is termed "A Short Prayer after the Psalm before the sermon." As translated by Dr M'Lauchlan, what was prepared for the public worship of the Highlands in the sixteenth century reads as follows:—

"May God the Father, Almighty King, Father of Jesus Christ our Lord, open and enlighten our hearts, and our minds to hear and to understand, and to obey, His holy, pure will, which is clearly revealed to us, in His [the?] most blessed law of His great and marvellous Son Jesus Christ our Lord. May He grant us, for His free mercy's sake, that whatever transgression, or sin, or evil we, or any one of us, may have committed from the beginning of our lives until now, we may be suffered to escape vengeance, and that what is yet to be spent and passed through of our time, may be all spent in obedience, and fear, and love of Him. So that His holy name may be praised of us, and that we ourselves may have comfort in all that we do. May He also grant us every other good thing according to our need both in soul and body, as His divine power knows we require better than our ignorance knows how to ask the gifts of Him. These good gifts and every other suitable gift asked, we ask in the name of His beloved Son Jesus Christ saying these words, Our Father who art in heaven."

## APPENDIX G.

### A Scottish Burial Service of the Sixteenth Century.

Period III., p. 132.

As stated in the text, "The Forme and Maner of Buriall used in the Kirk of Montrois" consists of three parts :—

First, An address, introduced with the rubric: "The Bodye being reverentlye brocht to the graiff, accompaneit with the Congregatioun, the Minister or Redare sall say as fallowis," concluding with the doxology: "To quhome [His Sone Jesus Christ] be all prais, glorye, and honour for now and evir," and followed up with the direction: "This being done, the Minister sall pray in effect as followis."

Second, A Prayer. For purposes of comparison I here reproduce three allied forms of burial prayer :—

1st, Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI., 1552.

*The Priest.*

Almightie God, with whom doe lyue the spirites of them that departe hence in the lord, and in whom the soules of them that be elected, after they be deliuered from the burden of the fleshe be in ioye and felicitie:[1] We geue thee hearty thankes, for that it hath pleased thee to deliuer thys N. our brother out of the myseryes of this sinneful world: beseeching thee, that it maye please thee of thy gracious goodnesse, shortely to accomplyssh the noumbre of thyne electe, and to haste thy kingdome, that we with this our brother, and al other departed in the true faith of thy holy name, maye haue our perfect consummacion and blisse, both in body and soule, in thy eternal and euerlastyng glory. Amen.

2d, Kirk of Montrose Burial Form, prior to 1581.

*The Minister.*

Almychtye God, with quhome dois leve the spreitis of thame

[1] These opening words of the prayer retain a trace of the old office, *Inhumatio Defuncti:* "Deus, apud quem spiritus mortuorum vivunt, et in quo electorum animæ, deposito carnis onere, plena felicitate lætantur."

that depart fra this lyfe, in the faith of thy deir Sone Jesus Christ, and in quhome the sawles of thame that be elected, eftir thai be delivered frome the burding of the flesche, be in joy and felicitie. We giff Thee hertlie thankis for that it had plesit thy eternall majestie to deliver this oure Broder N. S. out of the miseries of this synfull and corruptibill warld, beseking Thee that it may pleis Thee of thy gratious guidnes schortlie to accompleish the nowmer of thine elect, and to haist thy kingdome that we, with this our Broder, and all uthir departed in the trew faith of thy holye name, may haif oure perfyte consumatioun and bliss boith in bodye and saull in thy eternall and evirlasting glorye, throw Christ oure Lord. So be it.

3d, The Order for the Burial of the Dead. Church of England Prayer-Book, 1662.

*Priest.*

Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord, and with whom the souls of the faithful,[1] after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity; We give thee hearty thanks, for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our *brother* out of the miseries of this sinful world; beseeching thee, that it may please thee, of thy gracious goodness, shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect, and to hasten thy kingdom; that we, with all those that are departed in the true faith of thy holy Name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in thy eternal and everlasting glory; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Third, A funeral hymn. As stated in the text, the verses subjoined and intended to be sung[2] form one of the compositions in 'A Compendious Book of Psalms and Spiritual Songs,' commonly known as 'The Gude and Godlie Ballates.' In 1858 Miss Wink-

[1] The substitution of "the souls of the faithful" for "the soules of them that be elected" will be noted. It did not take place till 1662, the Prayer-Book of Queen Elizabeth (1559) having "the soules of thē that be elected."

[2] "At the end of the above MS. the transcriber has drawn two staves for the music, and has added, 'This Sang is to be sung eftir this tune.' Unfortunately, he omitted to set down the musical notes: it might, however, have been merely one of the common tunes contained in the Psalm-books of that time."—Dr Laing. The music of the original hymn will be found above.

worth issued the Second Series of her 'Lyra Germanica,' when it appeared that the funeral hymn of the Wedderburns and the Montrose Burial Service was a Scottish rendering of a German hymn by Michael Weiss, who, in 1531, published the hymns of the Bohemian Church translated into German, with the addition of several written by himself, of which this was one.

The variations between the verses in 'The Gude and Godlie Ballates' and those in the Montrose Burial Service are so few and minute that it is not necessary to reproduce both versions. It may, however, interest students of German and English hymnody to have before them, in addition to the Scottish version, the German original of Weiss, and also the English rendering by Miss Winkworth, as also the music of the German words, taken from the Nuremberg collection of 1570, given in 'The Chorale Book for England,' London, 1863, and which suits all three versions.

I.—*Geseng zum Begrebnuss.* Michael Weiss, 1531.

1 Nun lasst vns den Leib begraben,
Daran gar kein zweiffel haben,
Er werd am Jüngsten tag auffstehn,
Vnd vnuerwesslich herfür gehn.

2 Erd ist er, vnd von der erden,
Wird auch zu erd wider werden,
Vnd von der erd wider aufferstehen,
Wenn Gottes posaun wird angehn.

3 Sein Seele lebt ewig in Gott,
Der sie allhie auss lauter gnad,
Von aller sünd vnd missethat,
Durch seinen Son erlöset hat.

4 Sein jammer, trübsal vnd ellend,
Ist kommen zu eim seligen end,
Er hat getragen Christus joch,
Ist gestorben vnd lebt doch noch.

5 Die Seele lebt on alle klag,
Der Leib schlefft biss an Jüngsten tag,
An welchem Gott er verkleren,
Und ewiger freud wird gewehren.

6 Hie ist er in angst gewesen,
Dort aber wird in genesen,
In ewiger freud vnd wonne,
Leuchten wie die helle Sonne.

7 Nun lassen wir in hie schlaffen,
Vnd gehn allheim vnser strassen,
Schicken vns auch mit allem fleiss,
Denn der Todt kombt vns gleicher weiss.

8 Das helff vns Christus vnser trost,
Der vns durch Sein blut hat erlost,
Vons Teufels gwalt vnd ewiger pein,
Im sey lob, preiss vnd ehr allein.

## II.—*The Montrose Burial Service. Sixteenth Century.*

1 Oure Broder lat ws put in graiff,
And na dout thairof lat ws haiff
Bot he sall ryis at Domisday,
And sall immortall leve for ay.

2 He is bot earth and of earth maid,
And man returne to earth *thruch deid;* [through death
Sall ryis syne fra the earth and ground
Quhen that the last trumpett sall sound.

3 The saull regneth with God in gloir,
And he sall suffir pane no moir;
For that his faith was constantlie
In Christis bluid *allanerlye.* [only

4 His panefull pilgremage is past,
And to ane end cum at the last,
*Deand* in Christis *zoek* full sweitt, [dying. yoke
Bot *zit* is *levand* in his Spreitt. [yet. living

5 The saull levis with God, I say,
The bodye slepis quhill Domisday,
Than Christ sall bring thame baith to gloir,
To regne with him for evir moir.

6 In earth he had vexatioun,
Bot now he hes salvatioun,
*Regnand* in gloir and bliss *but weir,* [reigning. without doubt
And schynis as the sone so cleir.

7 *Ze faithfull,* thairfoir lat him sleip, [Ye faithful
And nocht lyke Heathen for him weip;
Bot deiplye prent into zoure breist,
That death to ws approcheis neist.

8 Quhen cumin is oure houre and tyme,
That we men turnit be in *slyme;* [clay
And thair is nane uthir defence
Bot die in hoip with pacience.

9 Thocht pest or swerd wald ws *prevene* [prevent
Befoir oure houre to slay ws clene,
Thai can nocht pluk ane lytill *heir* [hair
Furth of oure heid, nor do ws *deir*. [harm

10 Quhen fra this warld to Christ we *wend* [go
Oure wretchit schort lyfe man haif ane end,
Changeit fra pane and miserie
To *lestand* gloir eternallye. [lasting

11 End sall oure dayes schort and vane,
And *synne*, quhilk we could nocht refrane, [then
Endit *salbe* oure pilgremage, [shall be
And brocht hame to oure heritage.

12 Christ, for thy mycht and *eelsitude*, [highness
That for oure synnes sched thy blude,
Grant ws in faith to leve and die,
And syne ressaive oure sawlis to Thee.

FINIS. So Be It.[1]

## III.—*At the Burial of the Dead.*

*The Sure and Certain Hope.* 'Lyra Germanica,' 1858.

1 Now lay we calmly in the grave
This form, whereof no doubt we have
That it shall rise again that Day
In glorious triumph o'er decay.

2 And so to earth again we trust
What came from dust, and turns to dust,
And from the dust shall surely rise
When the last trumpet fills the skies.

3 His soul is living now in God
Whose grace his pardon hath bestow'd,
Who through His Son redeem'd him here
From bondage unto sin and fear.

4 His trials and his griefs are past,
A blessed end is his at last;
He bore Christ's yoke, and did His will,
And though he died, he liveth still.

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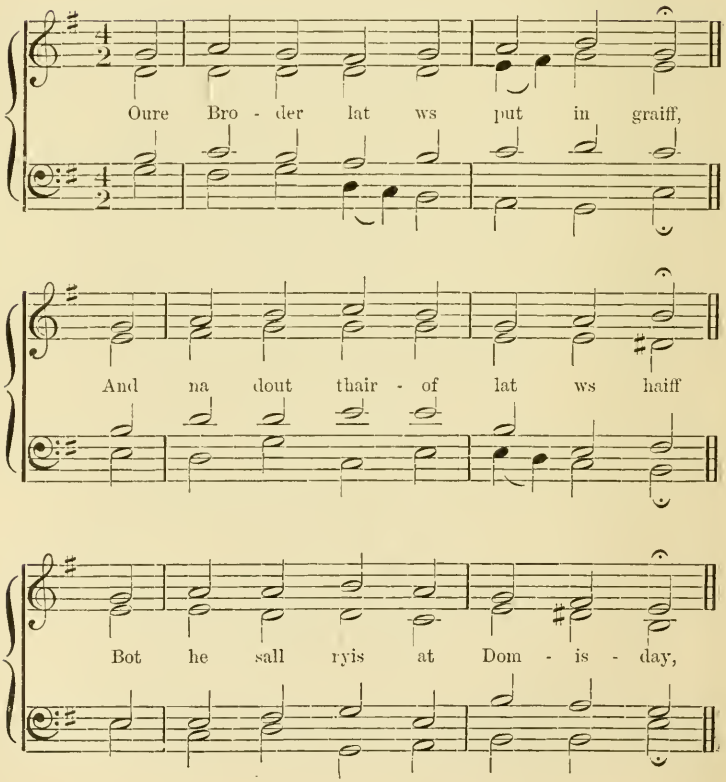
[1] It will be observed that stanzas 8, 9, 10, and 11 in the Montrose burial hymn have no counterpart in the German text; they may therefore, for the present, be regarded as original Scottish products.

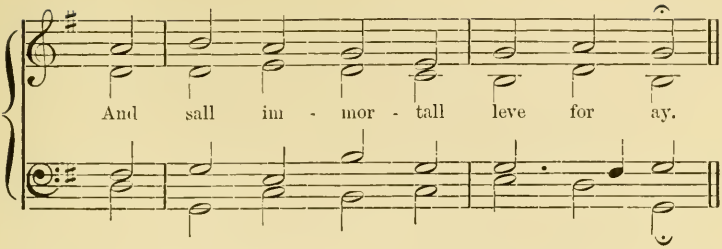
5 He lives where none can mourn and weep,
And calmly shall this body sleep
Till God shall Death himself destroy,
And raise it into glorious joy.

6 He suffer'd pain and grief below,
Christ heals him now from all his woe ;
For him hath endless joy begun,
He shines in glory like the sun.

7 Then let us leave him to his rest,
And homeward turn, for he is blest,
And we must well our souls prepare,
When death shall come, to meet him there.

8 Then help us, Christ, our Hope in loss !
Thou hast redeem'd us by Thy cross
From endless death and misery;
We praise, we bless, we worship Thee !



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## APPENDIX H.

THE LOVE-SONG PRINTED BY THOMAS BASSANDYNE IN A PSALM-BOOK, AND CONDEMNED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 1568. Period III., p. 134.

### WELCUM FORTOUN.

"Welcume Fortoun, welcum againe,
  The day and hour I may weill blis,
Thou hes exilit all my paine,
  Quhilk to my hart greit plesour is.

For I may say that few men may,
  Seing of paine I am 'trest [drest ?],
I haif obtenit all my *pay*, [prayer
  The lufe of hir that I lufe best.

I knaw nane sic as *scho* is one, [she
  So trew, sa kynde, sa luiffaudlie ;
Quhat suld I do *and* scho war gone ? [if
  Allace yet had I *lever* die. [rather

To me scho is baith trew and kynde,
  Worthie it war scho had the praise,
For na disdane in hir I find,
  I pray to God I may hir pleis.

Quhen that I heir hir name exprest,
  My hart for joy dois loup thairfoir ;
Abufe all uther I lufe hir best
  *Unto* I die. Quhat wald scho moir ?" [until

# APPENDIX I.

## Scottish Doxologies from the Psalter of 1595. Period III., p. 136.

In giving these old doxologies in full and exactly as printed, it will be sufficient to indicate on the left hand of each form the number of the psalm to which it is attached in the Psalter of 1595, and on the right the English equivalent of such words as might otherwise not be easily understood.

Ps. I.
Thy people and thy Heritage,
Lord blis, guide and preserve ;
Incres them, Lord, & reule thair hartis,
That they may neuer suerue.

Or on this maner—

O Lord that art the readie help
Of them that traistis in thee,
Saif & defend thy chosen flock,
That now distressed be.

Gloir to the Father, and the Sone,
And to the halie Gaist;
As it was in the beginning,
Is now, and ay shall last.

Ps. XXV.
O Lord the strength and rock,
of all that traist in thee :
Saif and defend thy chosen flock
from all calamitie.
Gloir to the Father be
the Sonne and halie Gaist:
As it hes bene continuallie,
is now, and euer shall last.

Ps. XXVII.
All pepill on the eirth reioyce
In God of maist misericorde :
With inward mynd, and outward voice,
Let vs giue laude vnto the Lord.
To God be gloir interminabill,
And his Sonne Christ baith God and man,
And halie Gaist inseparabill,
As was ay *sen* the warld began. [since

Ps. XXXVI.
Gloir be to GOD *allanerlie*, [alone
And to his Sonne eternall [eternallie?]:
And to the halie Paraclite,
Three persons in ane Deitie,
In Warld of Warldis infinite.

Ps. XLVII.
And gif him all glorie,
In Psalmes most sweit :
And to his Sonne Christ,
And blist Paracleit.
Quhilk from the beginning,
Did euer extend,
And so shall continew
Warld without end.

Ps. L.
Honour and glorie
Vnto the Father bee :
And to his Sonne
Quhilk is in heuin sa hie,
And right also
Vnto the holie Spreit,
Of troubled heartes
The Comforter most sweit.
As it was euer
Before in the beginning,
Is now, and shall
Be warld without ending.

Ps. LXII.
To God therefore
let vs with besie *cure* [care
Giue laude and glore
As feruentlie as we can.
As was before
ay sen the warld began:
Quhilk euermore,
*but* cessing shall indure. [without

Ps. LXVII.
To God our Father,
And to his deir Sone,
And to the halie Gaist,
Quhilk three are all one:
Be gloir as it was
In all tymes bygone:
Is now, and sall be
Quhen tyme sall be none.

Ps. LXX.
To God be gloir interminabill,
And his Sone verie God and man:
And halie Gaist inseparabill
As was ay sen the warlde began.

Ps. LXXVI.
To God alone of michtis most,
Be laud, praise, gloir, and dignitie:
The Father, Sonne, and holie Ghost,
Three persons in Divinitie:
As ay hes bene in tymes before,
Is now, and shall be euermore,
Throu sea and land in *ilk* [every
degre.

Ps. LXXX.
To our Father bening,
That made vs of nocht,
To Christ our Lord and King,
from deith that vs bocht,
And the halie Spreit
that faild vs neuer:
Be glorie infinite,
for now and for euer.

Ps. LXXXI.
Laude, honour, praise, and gloir immortall,
To our Father quhilk art in Heuin:
And to the Sonne in Godheid equall,
And halie Gaist lyke laude be geuin.
Quhilk ay wes obserued,
And only reserued,
To his Maiestie:
Euen sen the beginning.
And zit still continuing,
Perpetuallie.

Ps. LXXXIII.
Worship and glore
Vnto the Trinitie:
The Father, Sone,
And blissit Paraclite.
Eternall God,
Essentiall Veritie:
Three personnes
In one substance vnite:
All of power
and wisedome infinite
Quhilk neuer had
beginning, nor ending:
Our hope on them
sall euer be depending.

Ps. LXXXV.
Gloir to the Father of michtis maist,
Vnto the Sonne and halie Gaist,
One God in persons three:
Coequall and *als* Coeterne [also
Thy faithfull flock gyde and gouerne,
To thy felicitie.

Ps. CIIII.
From *sleuth*, and from sin [sloth
Gude Lord vprais vs:
That we may convene,
to worship thy Name,
For that is the chief thing,
gretlie suld pleis vs.
Gif we unto thy will
our lyfis do frame.
Thy meiknes hath made
much for to *mease* vs. [calm
Thairfoir let vs giue,
praise, honour, and glore
To God our deir Father,
and to his Sonne Jesus:
And to the halie Gaist
now and euermore.

Ps. CX.

Onelie to God of power infinite,
And to the promisit seid Emmanuell:
And *als mot* be unto the halie [as may Spreit,
Honour, worship, and gloir perpetuall.

Ps. CXI.

To our gret God be gloir,
And his Sone euermore,
And Spreit quhilk they vs send,
As was in the beginning,
And shall be continving,
Euen to the warldis end.

Ps. CXII.

To worship God let vs make haist,
And be not slow to giue him glore:
To Father, Sone, and halie Gaist,
As was, and sall be euermore:
From *grie* to grie, and stage to [step stage,
From tyme to tyme, and age to age.

Ps. CXIII.

Eternall God Omnipotent,
Quha fabricate the Firmament,
And euerie thing thairin conteind:
Grant vnto vs that we alwaies,
May worship thee with *detfull* [due praise,
Quhilk in thy Name ar heir conueind.
Giue praise and honour vnto God,
Quha chastises vs with his soft rod,
Of Fatherlie correctioun:
To quhome be gloir, and to no mo,
As was, and is, and shall be so,
For euer, *but* defectioun. [without

Ps. CXVIII.

The mercifull God of Israell,
Quha maid the heuin, earth, and se:
The blessed Sone Emmanuel,
Our promisit Saviour for to be:
And to the Spreit of veritie,
(All thre of might equivalent:)
Be gloir and honour incessantlie
And worship indeficient.

Ps. CXXI.

To God quha is in euerie place,
Beneth, and als abone,
The Father, and the Sone,
And to the halie Spreit of grace,
Be worship ineffabill
With voices incessabill.

Ps. CXXII.

Cum let vs forgather
To praise God the Father:
Euerilk morning of the day:
Sing Psalmes in sueit sound,
Let our voces redound
From eirth unto heuin: and say
To God our Creatour
And Christ our Saluatour,
And the Paraclyte maist holie,
Our gyde and counsellour,
Be laude, gloir, and honour,
For euermore continuallie.

Ps. CXXIV.

Let us reioyce,
be all meinis externall,
And inward heart,
and let vs praise the Lord:
Quha creat all
the haill warld be his word,
The Father, Sonne,
and the Spreit supernall:
Quha was, and is,
and shall be Eternall.

Ps. CXXV.

To God, quha leuis and reignis ay,
And to his promeist Sone sa deir,
And to the Spreit *send be* [sent by
*thame heir*, them here
Giue praise and honour night and day:
As it was ay befoir,
And sall be euermore.

Ps. CXXVI.

Kingdome, Empyre,
power, triumph, and victorie:
Be to our God,
quha creat the warld of nocht:
Father Eterne,
and his Sone the King of glorie:

And halie Spreit
  that knawis and reulis
    *mannis* thocht [man's
As was ay sen
  the warld's foundatioun:
From age to age,
  in all generatioun.

Ps. CXXVII.
Praise to the Godheid infinite,
The Omnipotent Trinite:
Thre persons in Divinitie,

The Father, Sone, and halie Spreit,
To praise them make us readie
  *boun* [prepared
Fra the Sone ryse, till it ga doun.

Ps. CXXIX.
  To the Father,
    our onelie Lord and King:
  And to his Sone,
    and holie Spreit giue we,
  Honour, and praise,
    as in the beginning
  Wes, and now is:
    and so euermore shall be.

Ps. CXXX.
O gude God maist mercifull,
  The Father of our Lord,
Thy Sone baith gude and pitifull,
  From deith that vs restored.
To quhome with the halie Spreit,
  Be honour, laude, and gloir,
In warld of warlds infinite,
  As it was ay before.

Ps. CXXXII.
To our Father Celestiall,
And his deir Sone and holie Spreit:
Thre distinct persons, cœquall
In one Godheid, whole, and compleit,
Be praise, and gloire, perpetuall.

Ps. CXXXVI.
Gloir to the Father be,
And to the Sone maist sweit:
The *samin* gloir giue we [same
Vnto the halie Spreit,
As was before
God creat all,
Is now, and shall
Be euermore.

Ps. CXLII.
To our Father,
  in heuinnis sa hie:
And to his Sone,
  be gloire condigne:
With equall praise,
  and laude worship we,
The halie Gaist,
  in Vnite Trinitie
As it wes in
  the beginning,
And sall be *but* ending. [without

Ps. CXLIII.
  Our God of michtis most
  To praise, let vs applaude:
  The Sone, and holie Ghoist,
  To quhome be gloir and laude,
  As it was lang before
  The Warld tuke beginning:
  And so sall euermore,
  Abyde without ending.

Ps. CLIX.
  To our Father *abone* [above
  And to his deir Sonne,
    And the halie Gaist:
  Be honour and gloir,
  As it was before,
    And for ay shall laste.

## APPENDIX K.

### One Hundred and forty-nine Scottish Collects or Prayers upon the Psalms. Period III., pp. 138-140.

These are given at length and in their original form by Dr Livingston in his 'Scottish Psalter of 1635' (Appendix I. Division —Literary (*b*), pp. ix-xviii). A selection of the Collects was edited by Dr D. D. Bannerman as Appendix B to his work on 'The Worship of the Presbyterian Church' (pp. 91-113), who for the most part retaining the words and sentences of the original, has modernised the spelling and punctuation, and grouped the contents of his selection "according to their subject-matter," adding "short headings" to indicate "the nature of the prayers." As illustrative of the correspondence between the French and the Scotch oraisons, Dr Bannerman gives the original in the case of the second and the fortieth psalms, which will be found under the Scotch compositions in this reprint.

As I am not without hope these Scottish prayers may prove of suggestive value to ministers in their conduct of Divine Service, I reproduce them at length in this Appendix. For the same reason I have divested them to some extent of their archaic sixteenth-century form, while I have adhered closely to the original, neither softening down nor paraphrasing. I have, however, abstained from grouping, preferring to give each collect in connection with the psalm upon which it is founded, there being often a striking connection between the former and the latter.

I. O merciful and heavenly Father, who hast created us unto blessedness and sovereign felicity, and hast given unto us Thy holy Law, to be the only rule and measure, whereby we should live well and godly, make us by Thy good grace to renounce our own carnal and fleshly desires, and all evil company, eschewing the way of sinners, that we may bring forth such fruits of the Spirit, that being always under Thy holy protection, we may have perfect assurance and confidence, that when Thy Son Jesus Christ shall appear to divide the

goats from the sheep, we may be accounted among the number of them that are redeemed by His blood. So be it.[1]

II. Almighty God and heavenly Father, who hast given unto us Thy dear Son to be our Lord and King: Grant we beseech Thee, that Thou wouldst destroy and dissipate by Thy marvellous wisdom all enterprises devised and directed against Him throughout the whole world: and make us so to profit and grow in His holy Law and doctrine, that in all fear and reverence we may serve Thee: that in the end we may attain to that endless joy, which we hope to receive through the same Jesus Christ Thy Son.[2]

III. O Eternal God, who to prove and try the faith and patience of Thy chosen, chastisest them with great and many tribulations, in such sort, that we are unable to exist or stand up against so many assaults and enemies as lift themselves against us. Grant we beseech Thee, that we may be so sure and safe under Thy protection, that the world may see that Thou art our defence and buckler. By virtue whereof we being victorious, may utterly despise and contemn all powers and puissances, that lift themselves against Thee and Thy Son Jesus Christ.

IV. Merciful Lord, fountain of all righteousness, who knowest the dangerous assaults wherewith we are assaulted on all sides, refuse not our petitions: but let us have the sure experience of Thy favour, and goodness: to the intent, that what affliction soever fall upon us, we may live in peace and quietness of spirit, awaiting the eternal rest, which Thou hast promised to Thy children, through Thy dear Son Christ Jesus our Lord.

V. O Good God our King and Creator, seeing we have our whole trust in Thee, and do worship Thee in spirit and truth; despise not

[1] Each prayer closes with "So be it": this, after having been given in the above, is omitted in all that follow.

[2] French original of 1567: "Pere celeste et tout puissant, qui nous as donné et consacré ton Fils unique pour Roy et Seigneur, vueille dissiper par ta Sagesse admirable toutes les entreprises qui se dressent contre luy par tout le monde, et faire que nous profitions tellement en sa saincte doctrine qu'en toute crainte et reverence nous te puissons servir, pour finalement jouir du souverain bien que nous esperons par iceluy ton Fils Jesus Christ. Amen."

(we pray Thee) the sighs and prayers of Thy poor servants, oppressed and afflicted by Thy enemies; and keep us continually under Thy protection, until we be glorified with our Head and Saviour Jesus Christ Thy Son.

VI. Good Lord, who art a just Judge, and who as a Father chastisest Thy children, to drive them to unfeigned repentance: Grant unto us of Thy infinite goodness, that the afflictions which we justly suffer for our offences, may serve unto the amendment of our lives: and that in the midst of them we may have a perfect feeling of Thy fatherly mercy: to the intent, that our enemies being confounded, we may praise Thee with thanksgiving all the days of our life through Jesus Christ Thy Son.

VII. O Good God, the only Searcher of men's hearts, who preservest us that put our confidence in Thee, from danger of our enemies: lift up Thy mighty arm, and put back all those that persecute us, and gather together Thy Church dispersed by the tyranny of godless tyrants: and keep us continually under Thy mighty defence, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

VIII. Eternal God, who by Thy mighty Providence dost govern all creatures: we humbly beseech Thee, that it would please Thee to visit us by Thy Son Jesus Christ, and restore us to that honour, from which we were cast down by the sin of our forefathers: and that we may in remembrance of Thy great benefits toward us, celebrate Thy miraculous power, both now and ever more.

IX. Almighty God, who dost never despise those that trust in Thee, hear the complaint of us Thy poor servants and suffer not the wicked to execute their cruel enterprises against us, but take them in their own snares, to the intent, that we may magnify Thy holy name, through Jesus Christ.

X. Lord God, who can put in order things confused and out of order: arise and stretch forth Thine arm to cast down the pride of such as lift up themselves against Thee, and persecute Thy little flock; to the intent that all resistance trodden down, Thou mayest be acknowledged the Saviour and Protector of all them that trust in Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

XI. O Lord, who art the strength and stay of us Thy poor flock although the wicked world goes about to snare us: and that there is no way for us to escape, but only by Thy grace: Grant that we may continue in Thy fear and truth, that we be not involved in that vengeance and punishment, which Thou wilt pour forth upon the wicked, when Thou shalt send that great Judge Christ Jesus Thy Son to judge the whole world.

XII. Merciful Father, who dost abhor all hypocrisy and lies: Lift up Thyself and show forth Thy strength for the deliverance of Thy poor servants, oppressed by the calumnies of flatterers: and strengthen us from day to day in the sure hope of Thy promises, until we attain to the full fruition of the same, by the moyen [merits] of Jesus Christ Thy Son.

XIII. O Eternal God, and most merciful Father: who quickenest things that be dead, of Thine infinite goodness give unto us quietness of heart: to the intent that we, not being overthrown with the heavy burdens of afflictions that lie upon us, may in our consciences rejoice always in Thy salvation: And grant (we beseech Thee) that we may continually addict ourselves to praise and magnify Thy most holy name, through Jesus Christ, Thy dear Son, our Redeemer.

XIV. O God only just, and righteous, we beseech Thee, that it will please Thee to draw us out of this fearful corruption, wherewith the whole race of mankind is infected, and deliver us from the thraldom of sin that we walking in all simplicity and godliness, may in the end enjoy the fruit of that happy deliverance, which Thou hast given us by the oblation of the sacrifice of Thy Son Christ Jesus.

XV. Heavenly Father, who hast adopted us to be Thy children, Grant that we passing through this corrupt world in such integrity and cleanness, that none have any just occasion to complain of us, may in the end be participant of that celestial heritage, which is prepared for us in the heavens, through Jesus Christ, our only Saviour.

XVI. O Lord, who art our good God and Lawgiver, since it hath pleased Thee to call us to the fellowship of those whom Thou hast ordained to salvation: give us hearts that we may earnestly detest

the company of infidels and Idolaters: and that we may employ ourselves in magnifying Thy holy name: that living under Thy defence, we may be always more and more assured of a happy life, which Thou wilt give to all Thine, through Jesus Christ Thy Son.

XVII. O Good Lord, the only searcher of men's hearts, howsoever we are compassed about on all sides with infinite dangers: yet we beseech Thee to show forth to us Thy favour and Thy good will, without which we should immediately perish. Suffer not, O Lord, that our hearts be bent on things earthly: but that we may follow Thy commandments, and ever aspire to that heavenly bliss, which Jesus Christ Thy Son has acquired for us by His own blood.

XVIII. O Lord, the buckler and defence of all those who love Thee: hear Thy poor servants who call upon Thee in truth and verity, and deliver them from their enemies. And forasmuch as there is nothing better than to acknowledge and follow Thy holy will: chase from us all darkness of error and ignorance: and let Thy light so shine over us Thy poor Church, that being strengthened by Thy strength, we may employ ourselves wholly in setting forth Thy praises, through Jesus Christ Thy dear Son.

XIX. O God, Creator of all things, grant that we may acknowledge and magnify Thy great strength and power that declare Thee in the conserving and guiding of this world: Suffer not that we wander any whit from Thy holy Law, which is pure and perfect: but that taking delight therein, we may wholly be so governed by it, that in the end we may be participant of the heavenly salvation, through Jesus Christ.

XX. O Everlasting God, who art ruler and guide of all things, who hast commanded us to obey our superiors and magistrates: let it please Thee, for Thy mercies' sake, to extend Thy merey and blessing upon our King and Prince, and all our superiors, that they living in Thy fear and protection, may overthrow their enemies: and we living in quietness under them may praise Thee all our lives, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

XXI. Eternal God, the only author of all good things, since it hath pleased Thee to receive us into the communion of Thy well-

beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ: suffer us not in any wise to be overcome of our enemies. But grant that His kingdom being established in the midst of us, we may triumphantly sing and magnify His praises, both now and evermore.

XXII. Although, O God of all consolation and comfort, Thou sufferest us for a little season to be afflicted diverse ways: and makest us (as it were) to be the outcasts of the world: yet forasmuch as we have our only trust in Thy goodness, we beseech Thee to assist us and deliver us from all those troubles that distress us, that in the midst of Thy holy Congregation, we may render Thee hearty praises and thanks, through Jesus Christ Thy only Son.

XXIII. Eternal and everlasting Father, fountain of all felicity: we render Thee praise and thanks that Thou hast made known to us our Pastor and defender who will deliver us from the power of our adversaries. Grant unto us, that we casting away all fear and terror of death, may embrace and confess Thy truth, which it has pleased Thee to reveal to us by Thy Son our Lord and sovereign Master, Christ Jesus.

XXIV. O God, Lord and Ruler of the whole world, let it please Thee of Thy good grace, to dwell among us, and make us participant of all Thy cœlestial blessings that we being strengthened by Thy power, may obtain victory over all our enemies, in the name of Thy Son Jesus Christ.

XXV. Good and gracious God, who desirest nothing but the health and salvation of them that trust in Thee: Extend Thy goodness and infinite mercies upon us Thy poor servants, and put away all our iniquities that we being governed by Thy holy Spirit, may walk uprightly in Thy holy commandments, without any wavering: that in the end, we may enjoy the bliss obtained for us, by Thy Son, Christ Jesus.

XXVI. O Lord, our righteous Judge, since it has pleased Thee to choose us for Thine own people, and to separate us from the company of the ungodly: deliver us from their calumnies and oppressions: and grant that we continually abiding in Thy Church, and living in all purity and uprightness, may ever magnify Thy holy

name, in Thy holy congregations, through Jesus Christ Thy Son, our Saviour.

XXVII. Father of light and fountain of all goodness, be helpful unto us in time of our affliction: and when we are in greatest danger, hide not Thy face from us: yea, whatsoever thing fall unto us, strengthen our hearts, that we may have a continual esperance [hope] of all the good things, which Thou hast promised to us, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

XXVIII. O God full of all consolation, who lovest equity, and detestest all hypocrisy and iniquity: destroy the enterprises of all them that seek our destruction. Be Thou the strength and buckler of all those that trust in Thee, that in all spiritual joy, we may sing praises to the forth-setting of Thy glory, through Christ our Lord.

XXIX. Mighty Lord, to whom all glory and honour do justly appertain: Since it hath pleased Thee to make us understand Thy will by Thy holy word, grant likewise that we may receive the same with all reverence, and that we may have a feeling of the force and strength thereof, that thereby we may be reformed in all holiness of life, that in the end we may enjoy the heritage promised to all them, that are adopted in Thy well-beloved Son Christ Jesus.

XXX. O God, Deliverer of all them that call upon Thee, in their adversity: deliver us from the malice of our enemies: and suffer not that in time of prosperity we abuse Thy benefits, but that we may give over ourselves to the magnifying and praising of Thy holy name through Jesus Christ.

XXXI. Eternal God, who knowest our weakness and infirmities, show Thyself our protector and defender, and destroy the counsels of all them that devise any mischief against us, Thy poor servants: and give unto us those good gifts, which Thou hast promised to reserve to all them that fear and worship Thee, through Jesus Christ Thy Son.

XXXII. Merciful Father, who desirest not the death, but rather the life and amendment of the sinner: Extend Thy grace, mercy and goodness to us, and bury all our iniquities: that being guarded with

Thy goodness, we may rejoice in Thee: living in all uprightness, as we are instructed by Thy Son, Jesus Christ.

XXXIII. O Eternal God, grant unto us, that Thy holy name may always be magnified among us: and that Thy mighty and holy word be so imprinted in our hearts, that we undertake nothing against Thy godly will: to the intent that we continually depend on Thy good Providence: and be replenished with that joy that shall uphold our hope of all those good things, which Thou hast promised to us through Jesus Christ.

XXXIV. Heavenly Father, who makest all creatures, yea, the very Angels themselves, for Thy wealth, let us have a feeling of Thy mercy and goodness, that we giving ourselves to all good works, may live peaceably with our brethren: that in the end we may be found holy and irreprovable before the great judge Jesus Christ our Saviour.

XXXV. Lord God, who knowest the power of them that lift themselves against us, defend and assist our cause, to the intent, that the proud wicked blaspheme not Thy most holy name: as though Thou wert not mighty enough to deliver us from their violence. And grant that we abiding with Thee in all truth and faithfulness, may render to Thee perpetual praises through Jesus Christ our Saviour.

XXXVI. O Righteous Father, whom the world knoweth not, imprint Thy fear in our hearts: which may chase away all wickedness and iniquity from us. Prepare our hearts to all good works, that we depending on Thy Providence, and living under the shadow of Thy wings, may be replenished with the abundance of Thy blessings: promised and prepared for all those whom Thou hast given to Jesus Christ Thy Son.

XXXVII. O God, the author and fountain of all goodness, who governest the whole world by Thy marvellous wisdom: suffer not, that we be any wise moved with the prosperous success of the ungodly: but that we may the rather give ourselves wholly to Thy service, and continual meditation on Thy holy Law: that in the end we may effectually find Thee to be our Saviour and Redeemer,

when Thou shalt come to judge the whole world, through Thy well-beloved Son Christ Jesus.

XXXVIII. O Lord, who art a just Judge, in respect of the just occasion of Thy anger conceived against us by reason of our grievous sins daily committed against Thy holy Majesty. Yet we beseech Thee, that Thou wilt turn away Thy fury and Thy anger from us, lest thereby we be consumed and brought to nought. Deliver us from all our enemies, and show Thyself to have care of our health and salvation, through Jesus Christ Thy Son, our Lord.

XXXIX. Almighty God, of whom proceedeth all our sufficiency, assist us by Thy Holy Spirit, that we neither think nor do anything, that is against Thy holy will. Hear our prayers, defeat our enemies, and comfort us by the self-same Spirit, that we may continually feel Thy fatherly favour and good-will, which Thou showest to Thy own children, through Jesus Christ Thy Son.

XL. O Lord, who by Thy Providence dost guide and govern all things, and who hast sent to us Thy well-beloved Son, to deliver us from sin and death, by the oblation of His body on the Cross. Grant that we may continually acknowledge this Thy great and inestimable benefit, and that we may ever have our hearts and mouths open to proclaim Thy praises among all men, by thy self-same Son Jesus Christ, our Saviour.[1]

XLI. O God of all consolation, grant of Thy infinite goodness that those fatherly chastisements which Thou layest upon us, may be so profitable unto us, that our enemies thereby have no occasion of triumphing over us: but that they may be ashamed and confounded, and we may be inflamed by Thy Holy Spirit to sing praises unto Thee perpetually through Jesus Christ Thy Son, our Saviour.

XLII. Heavenly Father, who at all times exercisest Thy poor

[1] French original of 1567: "Seigneur, qui par ta Providence conduis et gouvernes toutes choses, et qui nous as envoyé ton Fils bien aimé pour nous delivrer de péché et de la mort par le sacrifice de son corps: fay que nous recognoissons tousieurs ce benefice inestimable et qu'ayons incessamment la bouche ouverte pour annoncer tes louanges à un chacun par iceluy ton Fils Jesus Christ nostre Seigneur. Amen."

flock with diverse afflictions: Assist us, and deliver us from the troubles that are falling on us that the wicked and proud contemners may have no cause to think, that in vain we depend upon Thee: but that they may be compelled to understand, that Thou art the strength and fortress of all them, that love and honour Thee, in Thy Son Jesus Christ.

XLIII. Eternal God, who hast created us to glorify Thy holy name, turn away Thine anger from us, and take our cause into Thy own hand against them that oppress us. Show us Thy favour, and fulfil Thy promises, that we may render and give unto Thee, in Thy holy congregation, all honour and glory, through Thy dear Son, Jesus Christ.

XLIV. Father of all mercy, who did enter into covenant with our forefathers, which Thou hast ratified by Thy Son Jesus Christ, deliver us from those tyrants who cruelly pursue us: to the intent, that they may understand that Thou never leavest destitute them that trust in Thy goodness, and who render unto Thee continually due honour and reverence, through Jesus Christ, Thy Son.

XLV. Good Lord, and God Almighty, who for the fulfilling of Thy holy promises, hast sent unto us Thy dear Son, our King and Redeemer: Grant that we so order ourselves, under the obedience of Thy holy word that we may renounce ourselves, and all our carnal affections: and that we may be an occasion to all people to celebrate Thy holy name throughout the whole earth and that, through the self-same Jesus Christ, our only Saviour.

XLVI. O Lord, the only refuge and strength of all them who put their trust in Thee: We beseech Thee of Thy goodness to fortify us, and to destroy the devices of the wicked in such sort, that we may live in quietness of spirit, that we may serve and honour Thee all the days of our life, through Jesus Christ, Thy Son.

XLVII. O Lord God, King of Kings, who holdest all nations under Thy subjection: deliver us out of the danger of those that seek our overthrow and destruction: to the intent, that all men may know the care and love which Thou hast of Thy heritage, that we may sing psalms to Thee, through Jesus Christ, our Lord.

XLVIII. O God, the only deliverer of Thy Church, who showest forth continually so many evident signs of Thy favour which Thou bearest unto us, in casting down our adversaries, and bringing to nought all their forces. Continue Thy goodwill toward us: to the intent, that we being in safeguard under Thy holy protection, may ever have occasion, to render thanks, honour, and praise unto Thee, through Jesus Christ Thy Son.

XLIX. Heavenly Father, conserver of all mankind, suffer us never to be so entangled with earthly and corruptible things, wherein the children of this world put their whole trust and assurance, but that we acknowledge at all times our own weakness and miseries, lest through our unthankfulness we be justly spoiled of the fruit of that esperance, which Thy children have in Thee only, through Jesus Christ.

L. O Lord, the just Judge of all the world, who hast given us thy holy Law, to govern us after Thy holy will: Grant us of Thy grace, that we renouncing all impiety and hypocrisy, may serve Thee in spirit and verity, may call upon Thee in all our necessities, and magnify Thy holy Name, until Thy salvation appear which Thou hast promised unto us, by Thy dear Son Jesus Christ.

LI. Father of all mercies, who delightest not in the death of a sinner: have compassion upon us, and wash us from all our sins that we have committed against Thy holy Majesty since the time we first came into this world. Create in us a clean heart, and strengthen us continually with the power of Thy Holy Spirit, that we, being truly consecrated to Thy service may set forth Thy praises, through Jesus Christ our Saviour.

LII. O God most holy, grant us of Thy goodness, that being armed with Thy grace, we may divert and turn from men replete with malice and deceit. Destroy them utterly, that they may be rooted out and severed from among the living: that when the just shall see these things come to pass they may fear and rejoice in Thee as becometh Thy children, and may render and give unto Thee perpetual praises and thanks, through Jesus Christ, Thy Son.

LIII. O Lord God, the fountain of all justice, who abhorrest all impiety and wickedness, mortify by the power of Thy Holy Spirit all corruptions that naturally dwell in us: and deliver us from all errors and iniquities: to the intent, that we be not wrapped under the destruction and just punishment of the mockers of Thy holy word and despisers of the good gifts, which Thou hast given to us in Thy Son Jesus Christ, our only Saviour and Redeemer.

LIV. Almighty God and Heavenly Father, who never leavest destitute those that put their trust and confidence in Thee, so take our cause into Thy own hand against all our enemies, who are so terrible and so fearful, that they may understand that it is against Thee that they enterprise: Declare also Thy mercies toward them that help us: to the intent, that we have continually occasion to offer up to Thee sacrifice of thanksgiving, through Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour.

LV. O Father, righteous in all Thy judgments, who, for the trial of our patience, dost suffer us to be afflicted both within and without: Deliver us from all our enemies. Discover the craft and hypocrisy of all those who, by their fair and sweet words, go about to suppress us. Stop their false tongues, shorten the course of their life, and make it known unto them, that Thou hast delight in none, but in those who trust in Thee, through Jesus Christ, Thy dear Son.

LVI. True and ever-living God, the only help and support of all Thy poor afflicted people, destroy the enterprise of all our enemies, and let all that trust in Thy promises feel Thy fatherly goodness. Despise not our prayers, but be helpful to us in the time of our troubles, that we, having assurance of Thy favour, need not regard the force of our enemies, but may render unto Thee continual praises, for delivering us out of all dangers, through Jesus Christ, Thy dear Son.

LVII. Good and gracious God, who hast willed us to walk before Thee in all sincerity and cleanness of life: Grant that those wicked, crafty, and malicious tyrants have no power to annoy us, according to their will; but that they being rooted out of the number

of the living, we may remain as fruitful trees in Thy house, through the good esperance we have in Thee, and in Thy Son, Christ Jesus our Lord.

LVIII. Merciful Lord, the righteous Judge of the world, who knowest the malice and cruelty of the enemies of Thy Church: repress their blasphemies, cast down their fierce looks, and utterly confound them, that the godly, seeing the fearful vengeance that Thou takest upon Thy enemies, may be more and more moved to praise Thy righteousness and goodness, and may praise Thy holy name, through Jesus Christ, our Saviour.

LIX. Eternal God, who delightest in the innocence and uprightness of those that serve Thee with their whole heart: cast down our enemies who mock Thy holy providence, and who do nothing but devise our destruction. Destroy their enterprises and spoil them of their power, to the intent they may know that Thou bearest rule in Thy Church, and showest mercy to all them that put their trust in Thee, through Jesus Christ, Thy Son.

LX. O Lord God, who desirest not the death, but rather the conversion of poor sinners: handle us not according to the rigour of Thy justice, but by Thy mighty power put back all them that rise against us: that we, putting our whole trust in Thee only, may obtain victory, and thereby render Thee hearty thanks, through Thy dear Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour.

LXI. Almighty God, the help and defence of all them that fear Thee, grant that we may securely live under the safeguard and protection of Thy well-beloved Son Jesus Christ. Grant also that His kingdom by Thy great power may prosper and be advanced daily more and more; and that we being settled upon Thy promises may render unto Thee the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, both now and evermore.

LXII. Eternal God, who art the only glory and esperance of Thy children, assist us ever in time of our troubles, and deliver us from the troops of all our enemies. Show unto them that all is but vanity: and that what they account their great riches and treasure is nothing, seeing there is no health for any but those that trust in

Thy goodness and mercy, which Thou hast declared and made manifest to us in Thy dear Son Jesus Christ.

LXIII. O loving God, who hast promised to be in the midst of those that call upon Thee in verity: grant unto us, that we may so call upon Thee, in open assembly, that being under Thy protection, we may find Thy grace and fatherly favour more and more; so that under the kingdom of Thy Son Christ Jesus, we may obtain full victory over all them that trouble us.

LXIV. Eternal and ever-living God, who confoundest the wise of the world in their own wisdom: Withdraw us from the company of the wicked, and out of the society of the ungodly, who study continually to calumniate Thy poor servants and them that trust in Thee. Deliver us from the snares they lay for us, so that we may have cause daily to glorify Thy goodness, which Thou makest us to feel through Thy well-beloved Son, Jesus Christ.

LXV. Favourable and most merciful Father, who hast elected and placed us in Thy Church: Grant that we may continually acknowledge this Thine inestimable benefit: that ever dependent upon Thy power and goodness we regard not our adversaries, but may live in quietness, always ready to sing Thy praises, through Jesus Christ, Thy Son.

LXVI. O Lord, to whom all glory and honour do appertain, make that Thy marvellous works may be known throughout the whole earth, and that the force of Thy puissance may bring down Thy enemies and ours. Further grant to us, that we may be so settled by the afflictions which Thou sendest unto us, that we never cease to praise Thy mercy and goodness, which is abundantly shown forth to us, in Thy dear Son, Jesus Christ, our Redeemer.

LXVII. Eternal God, the Father of all lights, without the knowledge of whom we are more miserable than the very brute beasts: extend Thy blessing over us, and make that Thy most holy name may be known throughout the whole earth, and may be worshipped of all people and nations: so that all men feeling Thy merciful benediction, may walk in Thy fear, as we are taught by Jesus Christ, Thy Son.

LXVIII. Most puissant God of hosts, who maintainest and keepest all them that trust in Thee: Bend forth Thine invincible force to destroy our enemies; make feeble the strength of the proud; turn our troubles into prosperity, and grant that in the midst of our assemblies the praise of Thy holy name may be so celebrated as shall be most agreeable to Thy word, proclaimed by Thy Son, Jesus Christ.

LXIX. Eternal Father, and God of all consolation, who for the satisfaction of our sins didst cast down Thy only Son to extreme pains and anguish, and hast ordained Thy Church to pass by the same way of affliction: We beseech Thee most fervently, that forasmuch as we are destitute of all help of men, we may so much the more be assured of Thy mercy and goodness, that we may praise the same before all creatures, both now and evermore.

LXX. Cœlestial and heavenly Father, the protector and defender of all them that put their confidence in Thee: haste Thee to help us, and destroy the counsels of all them that scorn us, because we trust in Thy goodness. Grant that all those that seek Thee with their whole heart, and call upon Thee in spirit and verity, may have continually new occasion to praise and magnify Thy holy name, through Jesus Christ, our Saviour.

LXXI. Cœlestial and most mighty God, who art our continual helper, let not Thy goodness and clemency be far from us: Grant of Thy sovereign justice, that such as seek our destruction may be confounded, and be compelled to understand that there is not a God like unto Thee. Deliver us out of all our troubles, and comfort Thy poor afflicted ones; that we may have continual matter to sing Psalms to Thee, with thanks and praises agreeable thereto, through Jesus Christ our Saviour.

LXXII. Heavenly Father, fountain of all our felicity, who knowest how unto this present hour we have been oppressed under the tyranny of Satan, enemy to all justice and righteousness: We beseech Thee of Thy great power, that Thou wouldst so order and establish the kingdom of Thy Son Jesus Christ, that He by the sceptre of His word may so reign over us, that we renouncing the world and ourselves, may serve Him in fear and humility for ever.

LXXIII. O sweet and gracious Lord, grant us of Thy grace, that we never be so envious of the prosperous estate of the ungodly, that we decline from the right course of the godly: but that we may be more and more assured of Thy goodness and Providence, in such sort, that our whole aim may be to be perpetually conjoined with Thee, through Thy only Son Jesus Christ our Saviour.

LXXIV. Father of mercy, although Thou hast just occasion to punish us, in respect that we have not made our profit of those benefits which Thou hast poured forth upon us even unto this present hour: Yet have regard to the glory of Thy holy name, which is blasphemed by proud contemners and despisers thereof. Withdraw not Thy favour from us: but remember the covenant made with our Fathers of old, and strengthen us by Thy adoption ratified in us, through Jesus Christ, Thy Son.

LXXV. O Lord, ruler and governor of the whole world, grant unto us that we praise Thy holy name perpetually. Preserve Thy poor Church from destruction: Repress the pride and boldness of her proud adversaries: And cast Thine anger upon the despisers of Thy blessed word; to the intent, that when the ungodly are cast down, and the godly exalted, every one may render unto Thee due honour, praise, and glory, through Jesus Christ, our Lord.

LXXVI. O Lord God, who hast manifested Thyself to Thy people Israel, but much more openly unto us by Jesus Christ Thy Son, Pour forth more and more Thy favour and goodness upon us. Bruise down the force, and undo the counsels of our adversaries, and deliver the poor afflicted ones out of their hands, that they may continually set forth Thy praises: and that all the world may know that unto Thee all Kings, Princes, yea, and all creatures owe honour and obedience.

LXXVII. Eternal God, the only refuge of comfortless creatures, hear our prayers and requests, and forget not to show Thy mercy upon us. Lord, give us grace in such sort to acknowledge Thy marvellous works which Thou hast shown to Thy people in times past, that we may be daily more and more confirmed in the assurance of Thy goodness, by the which Thou hast freely elected and adopted us, in Thy well-beloved Son, Jesus Christ.

LXXVIII. O good God, who through the multitude of Thy benefits, heaped upon us, ceasest not to incite us to honour and serve Thee: Nevertheless our wicked nature and unfaithfulness is such that we give not that obedience which is Thy due unto Thee. Yet we beseech Thee that Thou wilt not put forth Thy anger upon us, but put away all our iniquities out of Thy sight through Thy mercy: and have pity upon us the poor sheep of Thy pasture who are redeemed by the blood of Thy Son, Christ Jesus.

LXXIX. O Lord, the protecter and defender of the poor and oppressed, although the rage and fury of our enemies be such that they never cease from continually tormenting us all manner of ways, and seek nothing but our utter destruction: Yet we beseech Thee to assist us, and turn away Thine anger that hangs over us, upon them that blaspheme Thee, that all the world may understand that Thou despisest not the complaints and sobs of them that call upon Thee in truth and verity, in the name of Jesus Christ, Thy Son.

LXXX. Almighty God, who of Thy goodness hast placed us in the sheepfold of Thy Son Jesus Christ, that we should be governed by Him as the only Pastor and Bishop of our souls: turn not away Thy favourable face from us, but look down out of Heaven, and behold how these cruel tyrants continually seek our death and destruction. Pour out Thy fury upon them, and defend us from all evils, that we may render Thee perpetual praises, through the self-same Jesus Christ.

LXXXI. O Heavenly Father, who never ceasest to pour Thy benefits upon Thy children, although by our ingratitude we have often and many times provoked Thy fury against us: yet we pray Thee remember the covenant made with our fathers, that Thou wouldst be their God and the God of their seed: have pity upon us. Give us Thy grace, that we may so walk before Thee, that we may be participant of Thy heavenly felicity, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

LXXXII. Eternal God, to whom all power and empire appertain: grant of Thy infinite goodness, that those whom Thou hast appointed rulers and governors over us, may so discharge them-

selves of their duty and office, that the glory of Thy most holy name may be advanced, the godly may be maintained, the wicked punished, and the poor comforted, to the end, that leading a quiet and peaceable life under their government, we may render all honour and praise unto Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

LXXXIII. O mighty God, the only true comforter of the afflicted poor, behold the threatenings and villanies of Thine enemies and ours, who puff up themselves in great pride utterly to destroy Thy Church. Repress them, O Lord, and destroy their enterprises. Confound them and make them contemptible, and cast them down by Thy power, so that all may know that it is to Thee only all reverence and honour appertain, through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord and Saviour.

LXXXIV. Most merciful and heavenly Father, without the knowledge of Whom we can in no wise attain to life everlasting or eternal salvation: Seeing it hath pleased Thee of Thy mercy, good and gracious God, to grant us liberty to convene ourselves together, to invocate and call upon Thy most holy Name, and to hear and embrace wholesome and sound doctrine, as out of Thine own mouth. Continue, of Thine own goodness, according to Thy wonted mercy, this Thy heavenly favour toward us and our posterity: and defend the cause of all those who walk before Thy holy Majesty in innocency and cleanness of life, that we may be encouraged daily more and more to put our whole trust and confidence in Thee, and that through the merits of Jesus Christ, Thy dear and only Son, our Saviour.

LXXXV. O Lord, who never leavest imperfect that which Thou hast begun, although our wickedness and unthankfulness deserve that we should be deprived of all Thy benefits: Nevertheless we beseech Thee of Thy great mercy to cast away our sins: and grant that we may fear and serve Thee in such sort, that Thou maintain us in peace and tranquillity, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

LXXXVI. Eternal God, the only relief of those who put their trust in Thee: Hear our prayers, and grant, that as hitherto Thou hast been blasphemed and dishonoured even unto this present, so henceforth Thou mayest be praised of all nations. And continue

in such sort Thy favour toward us, that all those who hate us may be ashamed of themselves, seeing that Thou leavest not destitute those who serve and honour Thee, through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord and Saviour.

LXXXVII. O Lord God, the only founder of Thy Church, augment and increase daily the number of the faithful by the preaching of Thy holy Evangel, that the darkness of ignorance may be chased out of the world, and that Thy name may be known over all. May all men resort out of all parts to render themselves under the obedience of Thy word, and may they reverence Thee with their whole hearts, through Jesus Christ, our Lord.

LXXXVIII. Eternal Father, who for our great good, dost cast us into many calamities and miseries: Despise not our prayers, lest in Thy fury Thou dost reject and cast us clean away. Have pity on us Thy poor servants, who call daily upon Thee, and replenish us with Thy grace to the intent, that all those in whose eyes we are contemptible and despised may understand that yet Thou lovest us, in Thy well-beloved Son Jesus Christ.

LXXXIX. O God only wise, and good, who never ceasest to show unto Thine elect how greatly Thou lovest and favourest them; but chiefly when Thou gavest unto us a King and Saviour, Jesus Christ, Thy only Son, to assure us of the truth of Thy promises. We beseech Thee grant us Thy grace, to render unto Him such obedience, that we may in the end enjoy the fruit of our faith, that is, the salvation of our souls.

XC. Eternal God, the only refuge of the afflicted, seeing that the shortness of this present life admonishes us to turn ourselves away from earthly things, and to have our meditation on heavenly matters: Grant unto us, that we may employ our whole life on the consideration of Thy mercy and goodness: and that Thine anger may be so turned from us, that we may have continually wherewith to rejoice in Thee, through Jesus Christ, our Lord.

XCI. Eternal God, Who makest all things to turn for the best to them that love Thee: and Who preservest and keepest all those who commit themselves to Thy protection. Grant us of Thy bountiful

grace, that we may continually call upon Thee with our whole hearts, that, being delivered from all dangers, we may in the end enjoy that salvation which is acquired for us by Jesus Christ, Thine only Son, our Saviour.

XCII. Merciful Lord, in the knowledge of whom lies life eternal, replenish us with Thy grace and Holy Spirit, that we considering Thy marvellous works, which the wicked despise, may give ourselves continually to sanctify Thy holy Name. And that we may so grow in all good virtues, that being true members of Thy Church, we may in the end see the destruction of Thine enemies and ours, when Thou shalt deliver all them who put their trust in Thee, through Jesus Christ, Thy only Son.

XCIII. Most potent King of kings, and Lord of lords, whose glory is incomprehensible, whose majesty is infinite, and whose power is incomparable: Maintain Thy servants in quietness; and grant that we may be so settled on the certainty of Thy promises, that, whatsoever thing come upon us, we may abide firm in Thy faith, and may live uprightly and without reproach in the midst of Thy Church, which Jesus Christ Thy Son hath bought with His precious blood.

XCIV. Just and righteous Judge of all the world, who knowest how fierce and cruel those are that lift up themselves against us: Repress, by Thy invincible power, their undaunted rage; and grant us that we make profit out of all the calamities that fall upon us. Dispose the estate of this world in such order that every one may renounce wicked ways and follow Thee; and that the more earnestly because Thou showest Thyself a just and righteous God, through our Lord and Saviour, Christ Jesus.

XCV. O Lord, the only protector and stay of all Thine, Who guidest Thy children as the sheep of Thy fold, extend Thy goodness to us, and so sustain our hearts, which by nature are harder than any flint, that we be not hardened or obstinate through any incredulity against Thy holy Word: but that we may serve Thee in true and living faith, so that in the end we may enter into Thy heavenly rest, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

XCVI. O Good Lord, Who willest all people to be saved and to

come to the knowledge of Thy verity: Show Thy power and excellent Majesty unto the whole world, that every one may sing Thy praises, yea, and show forth Thy salvation, which Thou hast promised to all them that dedicate themselves to Thy service; that Thou mayest be praised in all Thy creatures, by means of Jesus Christ Thy Son.

XCVII. O Lord, unto whom all glory and honour do appertain, replenish us with spiritual joy: Grant that, all idolatry and superstition being put away, the whole world may be so enlightened with the light of Thy holy word, that every man may give over himself to a perpetual praising of Thy holy Name, and may give unto Thee most hearty thanks, for all the benefits which we continually receive at Thy hand, through Jesus Christ Thy Son.

XCVIII. Almighty and everlasting, Who hast wrought the redemption of man after a marvellous manner, in sending Thine only Son to fulfil the promises made unto our fathers. Open up more and more the knowledge of that salvation, that in all places of the earth Thy truth and puissance may be made known; to the intent, that all nations may praise, honour, and glorify Thee through the self-same Son, Jesus Christ.

XCIX. O Heavenly Father, worthy of all praises: continue Thy favour and goodwill toward us, thy poor servants, and, by the force of that covenant which Thou hast contracted with our forefathers, grant that we may safely live under Thy safeguard and protection, that we may continually more and more have a feeling of the fruit of that adoption whereof Thou hast made us participant, through Jesus Christ Thy Son, our Lord.

C. O Lord, the plentiful store of all happiness, since it has pleased Thee of Thy free mercy and goodness to choose us for Thy own heritage, and to regenerate us spiritually: Entertain us under Thy wings unto the end; and grant that we may daily grow in the knowledge of Thy goodness, truth, and mercy, which Thou hast manifested unto us, through our Redeemer, and Saviour Jesus Christ.

CI. Eternal God, under whose power are all those whom Thou hast placed as rulers and superiors over us: Let it please Thee so to

enlighten the hearts of all Judges and Magistrates, whom Thou hast given us, that without respect of persons, they may maintain the righteous, and punish the wicked; to the intent that under their protection, we may lead a quiet and peaceable life according to the instruction given us by Jesus Christ Thy Son, our only Saviour and Redeemer.

CII. O God, the only founder and restorer of Thy Church: Hearken unto the prayers and sobs of us Thy poor children, who sorrow for the desolation of the same, seeking to Thee continually for her; earnestly beseeching Thee to look down out of heaven, see her misery, and deliver her out of captivity and from all oppression, that we in joyfulness of heart, may praise and magnify Thy holy Name, through our Redeemer and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

CIII. Cœlestial Father, Who at all times hast shown Thy singular favour and goodness towards all them that fear Thee: Look not upon the multitude of our iniquities wherewith we offend Thee, seeing the great fragility and weakness which are in us. But remember the covenant which Thou hast made with our fathers, and ratified in Thy Son Christ Jesus; that by virtue thereof we may assure ourselves of eternal salvation, that we with the angels may praise and glorify Thee for ever and ever.

CIV. O Dear Father, whose Providence extendeth over all Thy creatures, in such sort that Thy marvellous wisdom is uttered through them all: Grant that we may exalt Thy glory, and sing praises and psalms to the forthsetting and magnifying of the same; to the intent, that, the wicked being banished from off the earth, we may rejoice in Thee, and in the end may be participant of that eternal life and felicity, which are promised unto us, through Jesus Christ Thy Son.

CV. O Lord, only just and righteous, who from among all the nations of the world hast chosen Thy Church for the better manifesting of Thy blessed Name in her: and hast received us of Thy free mercy in that holy society: Grant that we may have a perfect feeling of the sweetness of Thy mercies, and assist us in the time of our troubles, seeing we call upon Thee and put our whole trust in Thee only. Suffer not, O Lord, that we become unthankful for the

great benefits which Thou givest unto us; but rather that we may magnify the excellency of Thy power and goodness, which Thou hast declared unto us, in Jesus Christ.

CVI. Father most pitiful and full of mercy: although through our unthankfulness and wickedness we cease not to provoke Thee to wrath and anger against us by loosing the bridle to all our evil [cankrit] affections, nevertheless, since it hath pleased Thee to admit us into the sacred covenant which Thou hast made with our fathers; We beseech Thee punish us not according to the rigour of Thy justice: but deliver us from all trouble, that we may with thanksgiving sing praises to Thy holy Name, through Jesus Christ our only Saviour.

CVII. O Lord of mercy, and full of all benignity, Who chastisest men in diverse sorts to make them return unto Thee: Suffer not, O Father, that we, through our unthankfulness, forget Thine inestimable benefits, and the most singular deliverances which Thou hast bestowed on us from day to day; but grant, that we may continually be careful and mindful to consider all the days of our lives Thy gifts incomparable, which Thou ever givest to us, through Jesus Christ.

CVIII. [Collect same as foregoing down to "through," after which comes "our Redeemer, and Saviour, Jesus Christ."]

CIX. O Lord, on Whom only we repose, and in Whom only we rejoice, behold the multitude, yea and the malice and cruelty of those that blaspheme and bend themselves against us. Destroy their enterprises and undo their wicked counsels. Turn their cursings into blessings; to the intent that we may have continual occasion to praise and magnify Thy Name in midst of Thy Church, the spouse of Thy only Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.

CX. Eternal God, Who hast appointed Thine only Son to be our King and Priest, that we might be sanctified by the sacrifice of His body upon the Cross. Grant that we may be so participant of His benefits that we may renounce our own selves, and serve Him in all holiness and purity of life: and may offer up spiritual sacrifices that may be pleasant and acceptable unto Thee, through the self-same Jesus Christ.

CXI. Most pitiful and loving Father, Who ceasest not by all means and ways, to draw us to love, fear, and obey Thee, and to keep Thy holy statutes and commandments: Behold not, O our gracious God, our vanity and unthankfulness: but have regard unto Thy promises and look unto the covenant which Thou hast made with us who walk in Thy fear. And suffer us never to be spoiled [spulzeit] of the inestimable fruit of the Redemption, purchased by the blood of Thy dear Son, Jesus Christ, our Redeemer and only Saviour.

CXII. Most loving Father, without whose blessing we are altogether poor and miserable creatures: Imprint Thy holy word on all our hearts, in such sort, that our whole pleasure and delight may be to serve Thee in all fear and reverence. Grant, that we may be so merciful towards our poor neighbours that we may also have a sure feeling of Thy mercy and goodness, when Thou shalt come to judge the world by Him, whom Thou hast ordained to be our Lord and Sovereign Jesus Christ.

CXIII. O Thou good Lord, Who only art worthy of all glory and majesty, and Who takest pleasure in things vile and contemptible in the sight of the world: We beseech Thee so to mortify and illuminate our hearts and wills, that all obstinacy and pride being set apart, we may humbly submit ourselves under the obedience of Thy holy word; that we bringing forth the fruits of all good works may sing praises to Thee perpetually, through Jesus Christ our only Saviour.

CXIV. Almighty God, the only deliverer of poor and miserable creatures, Who hast delivered us from the servitude of sin and from the tyranny of Satan by means of Thy Son Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world: Grant unto us, that we, acknowledging so great and mighty deliverances, may walk safely under Thy government in all holiness of life, until we attain to the full possession of the true land of the living, where we may continually praise Thee.

CXV. O Lord of all consolation and comfort, look down upon Thy Church oppressed by her enemies, and deliver her for the glory of Thy holy Name, that the ungodly may be staid from blaspheming Thee. Destroy this filthy idolatry which overruns the whole

world. Suffer not, good God, that we be exposed to the angry will of our enemies; that we in despite of them being maintained by Thee, may bless and glorify Thee, both now and evermore.

CXVI. Almighty God, the only helper and deliverer of all them that love and honour Thee: Extend Thy mercy and goodness to help us Thy children, as often as we call upon Thee in our afflictions. Turn our sorrows into joys; and imprint a true faith in our hearts, so that we may be able to give a sound confession thereof before all men: and that we may so profit by Thy rod which Thou layest on us, that we may never cease to celebrate, and invoke Thy holy Name before all men, through Jesus Christ, our Lord.

CXVII. O good Lord, unto Whom appertains all glory and magnificence: Grant unto us that by the preaching of Thy holy Evangel Thou mayest be acknowledged throughout the whole earth; so that all nations may have a perfect feeling of Thy mercies, and that Thy faithfulness may be more and more manifested, through Christ Jesus, Thy Son.

CXVIII. O loving and merciful Father, Who never leavest them that put their trust in Thee, and Who, as a Father, chastisest Thy children for their own health: Grant that we may be built as lively stones upon Jesus Christ, the true and only foundation of the Church; that forasmuch as He was rejected and despised of men, we may acknowledge Him always for our King and Saviour; that we may for ever enjoy the fruit of Thy mercy and goodness.

CXIX. Most merciful God, Author of all good things, Who hast given Thy holy Commandments unto us, whereby we should direct our life: imprint [them] in our hearts [by] Thy Holy Spirit; and grant that we may so renounce all our fleshly desires, and all the vanities of this world that our whole pleasure and delight may be in Thy law; that we being always governed by Thy holy word, may in the end attain to that eternal salvation, which Thou hast promised through Christ Jesus, Thy Son.

CXX. Most loving and merciful Father, the Defender and Protector of all Thy servants: Deliver us from the deceits and calumnies of our enemies: repress their rage and fury: and strengthen us in

the midst of all our tribulations and afflictions, that we may so live among Infidels that we may never cease to serve and honour Thee with such service as shall be acceptable and pleasant unto Thee, and that through the mediation and intercession of Jesus Christ, Thy Son.

CXXI. O Heavenly Father, Creator of heaven and earth, Who hast taken us into Thy protection: Suffer not our afflictions so to overcome us that we cast off all confidence in Thee; but rather prosper and conduct all our enterprises, and give a happy end and issue to all our businesses that we may continually be more and more assured that we are of the number of them whom Thou hast chosen to salvation, through Jesus Christ, Thy Son.

CXXII. O Eternal God, the only Founder and Keeper of Thy Church; seeing that contrary to all worldly judgment and opinion, Thou dost daily augment the number of Thy own: Grant, that we being placed under the government of Jesus Christ, the only Chief and Head thereof, may be comforted by Thy most holy Word, and strengthened and confirmed by Thy Sacraments: to the intent that we all with one heart, and mouth, may glorify Thee, edifying one another in holiness of life and godly conversation.

CXXIII. O Gracious Father, the only Refuge and Support of the afflicted poor: Thou seest the rage of our enemies who use all means to destroy us; Thou knowest how we are disdained and lightly esteemed by the proud and mighty of the world. Therefore, having this only remedy, we lift up our eyes to Thee, beseeching Thee to have pity and compassion on us, and that for the sake of Jesus Christ, Thy Son.

CXXIV. Almighty God, and merciful Father, Thou seest the multitude, the force, and the exceeding rage of our enemies to be so great that they would devour and tear us in pieces if Thy bountiful mercy did not relieve and succour us. But, seeing their craft and fury increase and grow from day to day, declare Thou Thyself to be our Defender and Protector; that we escaping their gins and snares, may give ourselves wholly to praising and magnifying Thy most holy and blessed Name, and that through Jesus Christ, Thy dear Son, our only Lord and Saviour.

CXXV. O Mighty King and Lord, the rock and fortress of all them that put their trust in Thee: Undo the force and break down the pride of them that afflict Thy poor Church, and suffer not the simple ones to be overthrown by them, but confirm such as Mount Sion, that they may abide in the new Jerusalem, which is Christ's Church. Suffer us not to shake hands with unrighteousness, but let peace be upon Israel, who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit, through the selfsame Jesus Christ.

CXXVI. Eternal Father, the only true God, and Deliverer of poor captives and prisoners: We beseech Thee of Thy plentiful bounty to relieve us from the bondage of our adversaries, that we passing through the miseries and calamities of this troublesome world, may in the end enjoy the fruit of our faith which is the salvation of our souls, bought by the blood of Thy dear Son Christ Jesus.

CXXVII. Eternal and almighty God, Who by Thy Providence dost conduct and govern all creatures in this world: Suffer us not to enterprise anything but what is agreeable to Thy will and pleasure, that we, altogether discontented with ourselves, may wholly depend upon Thy blessing; and that our only care may be that Thou mayest be glorified in us and our posterity, through Jesus Christ, Thy Son.

CXXVIII. Gracious Lord, Who art the well-spring of all felicity: Grant unto us that we may always fear Thee, and walk in Thy ways. Bless us and all ours, that it may be well with us and all who pertain to us; that we may see many generations and children of faith; and that we may see peace upon Israel, and so may glorify Thee all the days of our lives, through Jesus Christ Thy Son.

CXXIX. Eternal God, Who hast at all times shown forth the great care Thou hast of Thy Church and Thy poor servants: Assist us with Thy favour and grace, in such sort, that we may overthrow all the enterprises of our enemies, that they being confounded and put back with shame, we may in all safety and quietness, praise and glorify Thy holy Name, all the days of our life, through Jesus Christ, our Lord and only Saviour.

CXXX. Pitiful Father, Who art full of mercy, Who never rejectest the prayers of them that call upon Thee in truth and verity: Have mercy upon us, and destroy the multitude of our iniquities, according to the truth of Thy promises, which Thou hast promised unto us, and wherein we repose our whole confidence, according as we are taught by the Word of Thy Son, our only Saviour.

CXXXI. Mighty Lord, Who resistest the proud and givest strength to the humble ones: Suffer not that we lift up ourselves in any proud opinion or conceit of ourselves in any good thing; but [grant] that we may confess humbly before Thy Divine Majesty without excusing ourselves. And [grant] that we may mortify ourselves daily more and more, in such sort that in all our doings we may continually feel Thy fatherly favour, mercy, and assistance, through Jesus Christ Thy Son.

CXXXII. O Loving Father, Who by Thine oath hast promised unto us a Saviour Jesus Christ, Thy Son: Thou hast not deceived us, but hast given Him unto us, as Thy Word has declared, and by Thy Sacraments Thou hast confirmed. Yea, He hath further promised unto us, that He will abide with us until the consummation of the world. Therefore, dear Father, we beseech Thee that Thou wilt bless us in all our turns, govern us, and replenish us with joy. Let Thy Crown and Kingdom abide above us, and preserve us in peace, through the same Jesus Christ Thy Son.

CXXXIII. Gracious Lord, Who art not the God of confusion or discord, but the God of concord and of peace: Join our hearts and affections in such sort together that we may walk in Thy house as brethren, in brotherly charity and love, and as members of the body of Christ. Let the oil of sanctification, that is, Thy Holy Spirit, inflame us, and the dew of Thy blessing continually fall upon us, that we may obtain life eternal through the same Jesus Christ.

CXXXIV. Creator of Heaven and earth, however greatly the affairs and cares of this world do trouble, molest, and avert us from rendering unto Thee that honour and obedience due unto Thee; yet we beseech Thee that, forgetting all other things, we may have no other aim but to praise and glorify Thee all the days of our life, for

the great benefits which we continually receive at Thy hands, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

CXXXV. O Lord God, Who by Thy dear Son Jesus Christ hast made us Kings and Priests to offer unto Thee spiritual sacrifices: Grant unto us that we renouncing all idolatry, superstition, and all ungodliness, may give over ourselves to Thy service; and that in all time of tribulation we may call upon Thee with our whole heart that we may feel Thy fatherly bounty and mercy which Thou art wont to use toward all them whom Thou hast regenerated through the selfsame Jesus Christ.

CXXXVI. Gracious Father, replenished with all glory and magnificence: Grant unto us of Thy merciful grace that we may so apply ourselves to the consideration of Thy marvellous works and mighty providence, whereby Thou disposest and settest all things in good and due order; that thereby we may take occasion to celebrate Thy praises without ceasing, and specially inasmuch as Thou hast renewed us by Thy Holy Spirit; that thereby we may finally enjoy life eternal which Thy Son Christ Jesus has got for us with His blood.

CXXXVII. Merciful Lord, the Comforter and Deliverer of poor captives: Thou seest the great extremities whereinto Thy poor Church is brought and how she is on all hands exposed to the slavery and mockery of Thine enemies and ours, scoffing and attainting both us and Thy praises. O God, turn back Thy wrath upon them, and hear us who mourn and sigh for our deliverance; so that, the tyrants our persecutors being overthrown, we may freely sing Thy praises and lauds in Thy house, in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord.

CXXXVIII. Mighty Lord, full of peace and goodness, Who hast ever borne such favour unto Thy Church that even strange nations have been compelled to acknowledge and praise Thy marvellous bounty whereby Thou dost exalt the disdained and contemptible, and dost cast down the proud and haughty: Make, Lord, all people to submit under Thy mighty hand; and preserve us from all calamities; that all the world may know Thou wilt not leave the work imperfect which Thou hast begun in us, through Jesus Christ Thy Son.

CXXXIX. O Loving Father, unto Whom both we and all the inward secrets of our hearts are known: Grant unto us that we may so walk before Thee in uprightness of conscience that we keep no company with mockers and contemners of Thy holy Word. But may we be so circumcised in heart and mind that, renouncing all worldly friendship, we may never stray furth the right way which Thou hast shown forth to us in the Evangel of Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Saviour.

CXL. Deliver me, O Lord, from the wicked and ungodly men, who in their hearts devise mischief and delight in strife and contention, whose tongues are sharp as serpents', yea, the venom of adders lurks under their lips. Lord, let us not fall into their gins, neither suffer them to handle us according to their desires. Thou art our God; hear the voice of our complaints; take the defence of our cause in Thy hand, that we may with all our hearts render Thee hearty praises and thanks, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

CXLI. To Thee, O Lord, we cry; hear us, we beseech Thee. Let our prayer be as a sweet savour before Thee, and the lifting up of our hands as an evening sacrifice. Set a watch before our mouth and keep the door of our lips that they speak no proud thing, as the wicked do; but that they may call upon Thee in all uprightness and simplicity. Finally, let us cast our eyes on Thee in only trust, and in Thee alone repose ourselves. Suffer us not to perish, but deliver us from the snares which the wicked have prepared for us, and that through Jesus Christ our Saviour.

CXLII. Unto Thee, Lord, the Protector and Defender of all them that trust in Thy clemency, we cry and put forth our sighs; unto Thee we open and lay bare the troubles of our hearts. Thou knowest our ways and distresses, and how on all parts we are circled and compassed with cruel and ungodly enemies. Deliver us, dear Father, from those troubles and dangers wherein we are, and declare the care Thou hast for us who love and honour Thee; that we may in the midst of Thy holy congregation render Thee perpetual thanks, and that through Jesus Christ, Thy dear Son, our only Saviour.

CXLIII. O God, hear our prayers and receive our complaints; refuse us not for Thy righteousness' sake. Enter not into judgment with us Thy servants, for we know if Thou dealest strictly no man, not even the most holy, may stand in judgment before Thee. Teach us therefore, O Father, to do Thy will, and let Thy Holy Spirit lead us in all our ways that they may be agreeable to Thy ordinances, and that through Jesus Christ Thy Son.

CXLIV. Puissant God of armies, Who knowest our weakness and infirmities to be so great that by ourselves we are not able to stand up for a moment before our adversaries did Thy mighty power not uphold us: Bow down Thyself out of the heavens, and stretch forth Thy strong hand, that those who seek our ruin may see Thou art our Protector and Defender. Give us such prosperous success that all the world may see those are not miserable who depend on Thee, and claim Thee to be their God, through Jesus Christ our Saviour.

CXLV. Thy mercies, Lord, are above all Thy works; faithful art Thou in all Thy promises, and just in all Thy doings. Be a merciful Father unto us for Christ Jesus Thy Son's sake. Govern our ways for we are weak; strengthen us for we are frail; refresh us for we are famished; and plentifully bestow Thy good gifts upon us. Defend us from the snares of Satan, our old enemy, that he tempt us not out of the right way, but that we be evermore ready to praise and glorify Thy holy Name, through Jesus Christ.

CXLVI. O Good God, suffer not that in any wise we set Thee aside to put our trust or confidence in princes or in the children of men; but let us continually have all our trust and confidence fixed upon Thee, for unto such as do so Thou art a sure Rock and Refuge. Lead, Lord, them that walk in darkness; deliver the oppressed; enlarge Thy Kingdom which all Thy chosen children who are redeemed by the blood of Thy Son most earnestly thirst for; and that for the same Jesus Christ's sake.

CXLVII. O Lord, marvellous are Thy might and strength, whereby Thou castest down the proud and fearful tyrant and liftest

up the humble and meek ones. We beseech Thee of Thy great mercy to restore and rebuild Thy Church, which was founded by Thee only. Gather together Thy scattered sheep; and as Thou feedest all creatures with temporal food and pasturage, make us to have an inward feeling of the effect of Thy holy Word, that we, following Thy will declared therein, may in the end enjoy the heritage prepared for us in Christ Jesus.

CXLVIII. Great and marvellous is Thy majesty, O mighty God, Maker and Conserver of all things, and mightily doth it shine in all Thy creatures, both in heaven and earth and in the sea: Grant that as these all acknowledge Thee, so we may also make acknowledgment of the same, that with one accord and uniform consent we may with Thy holy angels praise the magnificence of Thy glorious Name, so that all may rejoice in the health and exalting of Thy people, whom Thou hast relieved from death, through the blood of Jesus Christ.

CXLIX. Instruct our mouths, O good Lord, with a new song, that, our hearts being renewed, we may sing in the company of Thy saints, and rejoice in Thee our Creator and Redeemer. Let us possess such peace of conscience as may strongly work for Thee. And being girded with the two-edged sword of Thy Word and Holy Spirit, may we strive against all things that oppose themselves to the glory of Thy most holy Name, and that through Jesus Christ, Thy dear Son, our only Lord and Redeemer.

CL. Most worthy art Thou, O good and gracious God, of all praises, even for Thine own sake, surpassing all things in holiness. By Thee alone are we made holy and sanctified. We praise Thee for our glorious redemption, purchased for us in Thy dearly beloved Son Christ Jesus, as our duty continually bids us. Give us Thy Holy Spirit to govern us. And grant that all things which breathe with life may praise Thee as the true life of all creatures, through the same Jesus Christ our Lord, Who reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, one God, for ever and ever.

# APPENDIX L.

## The Bidding Prayer: History and Specimens of.
Period III., p. 152.

To this particular kind of prayer the late Dr Edgar of Mauchline makes reference in his 'Old Church Life in Scotland.' He terms it "a very grand old practice that prevailed in England at least, if not in Scotland, in Catholic times;" and after quoting a passage from the 'Alliance of Divine Offices' by L'Estrange, descriptive of the bidding of prayers, he affirms: "Nothing could be more proper or more solemn, more impressive or more edifying in public worship, than a brief service of this kind reverently conducted."—(First Series, lect. ii. p. 86.) As many Scottish readers may have no knowledge of this particular form of prayer, it may interest them to be furnished with a brief historical notice and with some illustrative specimens.

In his 'Origines Ecclesiasticæ' (Book ii. chap. xx.) Joseph Bingham treats, among other things, of the name, office, and duties of Deacons, as forming one of the three orders of the clergy, the third order of the ministry in prelatic church government. With "Deacons to Bid Prayer in the Congregation" for title, section x. states: "Another Office of the Deacons was to be a sort of Monitors and Directors to the People in the Exercise of their Publick Devotions in the Church. To which purpose they were wont to use certain known Forms of Words, to give notice when each part of the Service began, and to excite the People to join attentively therein; also to give notice to the Catechumens, Penitents, Energumens, when to come up and make their prayers, and when to depart; and in several Prayers they repeated the Words before them, to teach them what they were to pray for. . . . And this is called the Deacon's προσφώνησις or Exhortation to pray, to distinguish it from the Bishop's ἐπίκλησις, which was a direct Form of Address to God, whereas the Deacon's Address was to the People: For which reason it was called προσφώνησις and κηρύξαι, Bidding the People pray, or a Call and Exhortation to pray, with Directions what they should pray for in particular."

Actual instances of deacons bidding to pray are to be met with

in several liturgies of the ancient, though not of the primitive Church. Thus in the eighth book of the "Apostolical Constitutions" directions are given for the election and ordination of bishops. The form of prayer for ordination concludes thus: "All standing up, *let the deacon ascend upon some high seat, and proclaim*, Let none of the hearers, *let none of the unbelievers stay;* and silence being made, let him say: (vi.) Ye catechumens, pray, and let all the faithful pray for them in their mind, saying: Lord, have mercy upon them. And let the deacon bid prayers for them, saying: Let us all pray unto God for the catechumens, &c. . . . Rise up, ye catechumens, beg for yourselves the peace of God through His Christ, a peaceable day, and free from sin, &c. . . . Bow down your heads and receive the blessing. But at the naming of every one by the deacon, as we said before, let the people say, Lord, have mercy upon him; and let the children say it first. . . . And after this, let the deacon say: Go out, ye catechumens, in peace."—Ante-Nicene Lib., vol. xvii. pp. 216-218.

Then in the 'Divine Liturgy of James, the Holy Apostle and Brother of the Lord,' the following rubrics find a place: "*Then the Deacon says the bidding prayer.* In peace let us beseech the Lord. For the peace that is from above, and for God's love to man, and for the salvation of our souls, let us beseech the Lord, &c. . . . *The Deacon.* Let none of the catechumens, none of the unbaptised, none of those who are unable to join with us in prayer [remain]; look at one another: [shut] the door: [stand] all erect: let us again pray to the Lord. . . . *The Deacon makes the Universal Collect.* In peace let us pray to the Lord. *The People.* O Lord, have mercy. *The Deacon.* Save us, have mercy upon us, pity and keep us, O God, by Thy grace. For the peace that is from above, and the loving-kindness of God, and the salvation of our souls, let us beseech the Lord. For the peace of the whole world, and the unity of all the holy churches of God, let us beseech the Lord," &c.—Ante-Nicene Lib., vol. xxiv. pp. 14 *et seq.*

In England, from the time when pieces of glass or wood were used to mark the Pater Nosters and Ave Maries, prayers were called Bedys or Beads, and the act of praying was termed Bidding the Bedys. Some Biddings of Prayers used in the diocese of Worcester in the fourteenth century have come down to us inserted at intervals in a Latin service, and these, as the earliest specimens of this kind of devotion *in lingua materna*, may here be given:—

"*A form of Bidding the Bedes, used on Holy days in the diocese of Worcester*, A.D. 1349.

"Ye shulle stonde up and bydde your bedys in the worshepe of our Lord Jhesu Christ, and his moder Saint Marye and of all the Holy Company of Heaven; ye shulle also bydde for the stat of Holy Cherche, for the Pope of Rome and his Cardinalis; for the Patriarch of Jerusalem, for the holy Lond, and for the holy Croys, that Jhesu Christ sendeth it out of hedne mennys honde [heathen men's hands] into Cristenmennys [Christian men's] honde. Ye shulle bydde for the Erche-Byscop of Canturbury, for the Byscop of Worssettre our ghostly fader, and all oder Biscopis. Ye shall bydde for Abbotis, for Prioris, for Moonks, for Channons, for Freris, for Ancris [Nuns], for Heremytes, and for all Religiouus. Ye shulle bydde for all the Prestys and Cleerks that heerinne servit and havyty [have] servit. Ye shulle bydde for the pees [peace] of the Lond that Jhesu Crist holdit that it is, and send it there it nys [is not]. Ye shulle bydde for the King of Engeland, for the Quene, and for all here childryne, for the Prince, for Dukes, for Yerles, for Baronnis, and for the Knycts of this Lond, and for all her good consaile and her tru Servantis. Ye shulle bydde for tham that the stat of Holy Cherche and of this Lond [be] well mentanid. Ye shulle bydde for the wedering [weather] and the cornis, and for the frutys that beet icast on herde and on erthe growing, and for alle the trewe erthe tylyaris [ploughmen], that God send swic wedering fro hevene to erthe that it be him to convening, and mankind to help of lif and sanation of howre sawlys. Ye shulle bydde for the persown [parson] of this Cherche, and for all his Parisihoners that ben heer, other elles war [or elsewhere] in lond, other in water, that our Lord Jhesu Crist tham shilde and warde from alle misaventuris, and grant tham part of alle the bedys and good dedys that me deed [merited] in holy Churche. Ye shulle bydde for them that in gwoode wayes beet ywent [have gone], other wendyt [or are going], other thenkit to wenthe [or purpose to go, on pilgrimage] their sennys [sins] to bote [expiate], that our Lord Jhesu Crist ward and shilde from alle misaventryes, and gront them so go on and comen, that it be Hym to worship and ham [them] in remissions of here [their] sinnys for tham and for oos [us] and alle Cristine folk. . . . *Tunc conversus ad populum dicat sacerdos.*

"Also ye shulle bydde for the gwode man and the good wife, that the charite hid [hither] brought to pay, and for tham that it first vooden [vowed] and longest holden ye shulle bydde for tham that this Cherche honour with book, with bell, with westiments, with twayte [woodland], oder with lyght, oder with eny oder ournaments to roof, oder to ground with londe, oder with rent wherethrough God and our Lady, and all halhen [saints] of hevene beth the fairer inservit [be served] her oder elleswar. Ye shulle bydde for all thilk [those] that bet in good lyve, that God therein tham holde long, and for thilk that bet in evele lyve oder in dedlicke [deadly] senne ybound, that our Lord Jhesu Crist tham outbring and give tham sure grace here har sennes bote. Ye shulle bydde that for thilke that to God and holy Cherche trouly tethegenth [tithe] that God ham wite and warde [watch and defend] fro alle mis-auntre and for alle thilk euil tethength that God ham give grace of amendment that hij [they] ne fall not into the grete Sentence. Ye shulle bydde for all the seake [sick] of this Parische that our Lord hem give swic heele that it be ham to convenient, and hem to help of body and of soul, for ham and for us and for alle Cristmen and wymen pour charite.[1] Pater Noster, &c. . . . *In lingua materna conversus ad populum dicat.* Ye shulle kneelen down and bydde for fader sowl, for moder sawle, for god-fader sawle, for god-moder sawle, for children sawles, and for alle the sawlys of our bredryn and soosters sawles, and alle the sawles that we bet in dette for the bydde for, and for all the sawles that beet in Purgatory, that God ham brenge the radyr [sooner] out of har peynys there by the byseeching of our bone [good]. Ye shulle bydde for alle the sawlys hwos [whose] bonys [bones] rest in this place, oder eny oder holy place, for all sawlys hwos mendedays [Maundy-days][2] beet yholde in this Cherche, oder eny oder by the yeare."—"The Alliance of Divine Offices," chap. vi. pp. 259-261 of 'Lib. of Anglo Cath. Theol. ed.' Also "Forms of Bidding Prayer." Oxford, 1840, pp. 11-22.

Forms of Bidding Prayers were issued in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Elizabeth. The following is the

[1] Comp. the formula, "for whom of your charity pray a Paternoster."

[2] Mendedays, Maundy-days. Days of the month on which the souls of persons deceased were particularly prayed for by their will or desire, for which money was left to be disposed of by their executors. They had likewise their twelve month days.

form as provided in the 55th canon of the Reformed Church of England in 1603: "Before all sermons, lectures, and homilies, Preachers and Ministers shall move the people to joyn with them in prayer in this form or to this effect, as briefly as conveniently they may: Ye shall pray for Christs holy Catholick Church, that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world, and especially for the churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland. And herein I require you most especially to pray for the Kings most excellent majesty our soveraign Lord James, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the Faith and supreme Governour in these his realms, and all other his dominions and countries, over all persons, in all causes as well ecclesiastical as temporal. Ye shall also pray for our gracious Queen Anne, the noble Prince Charles, Frederick Prince Elector Palatine, and the Lady Elizabeth his wife. Ye shall also pray for the ministers of God's holy word and Sacraments, aswel archbishops and bishops, as other pastours and curates. Ye shall also pray for the Kings most honourable Council, and for all the nobility and magistrates of this realm, that all and every of these in their severall callings, may serve truely and painfully to the glory of God and the edifying and well governing of his people, remembering the account that they must make. Also ye shall pray for the whole Commons of this realm, that they may live in true faith and fear of God, in humble obedience to the King, and brotherly charity one to another. Finally, let us praise[1] God for all those which are departed out of this life in the Faith of Christ, and pray unto God that we may have grace to direct our lives after their good example; that this life ended, we may be made partakers with them of the glorious resurrection in the life everlasting. Alwayes concluding with the Lord's Prayer."—'L'Estrange,' *ut sup.*, pp. 256, 257. 'Forms,' &c., *ut sup.*, pp. 140-142.

The use of the Bidding Form of Prayer is still practised in the

[1] In the earlier English bidding prayers, and even in those of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., the reference to the departed was in the form of *a prayer*. Thus, in what is known as Bishop Hilsey's Primer, printed in 1539, we have: "Ye shall pray for the souls that be departed, abiding the mercy of Almighty God, that it may please him rather at the contemplation of our prayers to grant them the fruition of his presence."—'Three Primers put forth in the reign of Henry VIII.' Oxford, 1834, p. 329.

It was in the form put forth in the reign of Elizabeth that for the first time "praying for" gave place to "praising God for" the departed.

Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The following is the form it took in the University pulpit of Oxford in 1840: "Let us pray for Christ's Holy Catholic Church; especially for that pure and apostolical branch of it established in these kingdoms; and herein for our gracious Sovereign Lady Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, defender of the faith, in all causes and over all persons ecclesiastical and civil, within these her dominions supreme; for Adelaide the Queen Dowager, and all the royal family; for the Lords and others of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council; [for the Great Council of the nation now assembled in Parliament;] for the nobility, gentry, and commonalty of this land; for the magistrates and others who are in authority; that all, in their respective stations, may labour to advance the glory of God, and the present and future welfare of mankind; remembering that solemn account which they must one day give before the tribunal of God. But for the sake of all, let us pray for the clergy, whether bishops, priests, or deacons; that they may shine like lights in the world, and adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things. And for a due supply of persons qualified to serve God in Church and State, let us implore his especial blessing on all schools and seminaries of religious and useful learning; particularly on our Universities; and here in Oxford for the most noble Arthur Duke of Wellington, our honoured Lord and Chancellor; all Doctors, both the Proctors, all Heads and Governors of Colleges and Halls, with their respective Societies; and, as I am more especially bound, for the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of —— College, and all members of that Society;[1] that in these and all other places more immediately dedicated to God's honour and service, whatsoever tends to the advancement of true religion and useful learning may for ever flourish and abound. To these our prayers, let us add our unfeigned praises for mercies already received; for our creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life; particularly for the liberality of Founders and Benefactors; such as were, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, &c., &c., &c. But above all, for the inestimable love of God our Heavenly Father in the redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ, for the means of grace, and for the hope of glory. Finally, let us praise

[1] From the name of the College given, University hearers of the prayer can always tell to what College the preacher belongs, although, it may be, ignorant of his name.

God for all his servants departed this life in his faith and fear; beseeching Him to give us grace to follow their good examples, that this life ended, we may dwell with them in life everlasting, through Jesus Christ our Lord, in whose most perfect Form of Prayer we conclude our imperfect addresses to the Throne of Grace.—Our Father, &c. Amen."

("Forms of Bidding Prayer, with Introduction and Notes, Oxford, 1840," pp. 179-183.)

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## APPENDIX M.

### Chronological Notes on the Offices of Reader and Exhorter in Scottish Presbyterian Worship. Period IV., p. 202.

Unable at present to prepare, as I at one time hoped to do, a dissertation on this subject, I have put together the following rough notes, which may be of service to some one having greater competency and larger leisure than I can lay claim to.

I. In the Book of Discipline, 1560-61, the qualifications, functions, and remuneration of readers and exhorters are fully treated. The Fourt Head, IV. For Readaris; The Fyft Heid, § 5; The Sext Heid, § 7.

II. The Book of Common Order, 1564, contains no explicit mention of either reader or exhorter. Dr Leishman perceives a reference to the employment of the former in the Communion rubric which provides that "during the which Time [of breaking the Bread and delivering "it to the People, who distribute and divide the same amongst themselves," also of giving likewise the cup] some place of the Scriptures is read" ('The Church of Scot.,' "The Ritual of the Church," vol. v. p. 339). This shrewd conjecture gains confirmation from a description of a Scottish Communion given by Calderwood (1623) in his 'Altare Damascenum,' and quoted by Dr Sprott in his Introduction to his reprint of the 'Book of Common Order' (1868): "Whilst they are rising from the table and others are taking their place the Minister is silent, and those

leaving and those approaching the table, together with the whole Congregation, either sing, *or the Reader reads the history of the Passion.* . . . In this form our Church has now for sixty years celebrated the Holy Supper."—(P. xl of Dr Sprott's Reprint.)

III. Registers of Ministers and Readers, 1567-74. One of these is in the Register Office, Edinburgh, and was published by the Maitland Club, 1830. It is entitled "The Register of Ministers and thair Stipends, sen the zeir of God 1567." From this list it appears that in that year there were about 1080 churches under the charge of 257 ministers, 151 exhorters, and 455 readers; and the places of 12 ministers and 53 readers are marked vacant.

Another list is that of the "Book of the Assignation of Stipends." The original MS. is in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. Extracts from it are given in 'The Miscellany of the Wodrow Society,' under the title of "The Register of Ministers and Readers in the year 1574." From this document it is estimated there were then 988 churches, with 289 ministers and 715 readers, the places of 20 ministers and 97 readers being not supplied. See Dr D. Laing's prefatory note to the extracts in Wodrow 'Miscellany.'

IV. *Mention of Readers and Exhorters in the 'Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies.'*

1. In 1560, after the list of ministers and commissioners, there comes "the names of them whilk the ministers and commissionars think maist qualified for the ministring of the word of God and sacraments, and reiding of the commoun prayers publicklie in all kirks and congregations, and givin up be them every ane within there awin bounds. In Kyle for reiding," &c.—'The Book of the Univ. Kirk,' p. 4.

2. In 1566 "James Knox, reader in Bathgate, was censured for baptizing of bairns and solemnizing of marriage, he being but a simple reader, and taking money for the same from such as were without the paroche."—Ibid., p. 82.

3. In 1568, "It was ordained that superintendents should command readers to abstain from all ministration of the Sacraments, under the pain to be accused as abusers, and criminall according to the Act of Parliament."—Ibid., p. 124.

4. In 1572, among "the Heads and Articles proponed in the

name of the Ministers, Barons, and Commissioners of Kirks, to the Regents Grace, Nobility and Counsell," it is "thocht expedient . . . that all Superintendants and Commissionaris of cuntries [counties?] tak diligent inquisitioun of the lyfe of all Ministaris, Exhortaris and Reidaris."—Ibid., p. 252.

5. In the proceedings of Assembly 1576 mention is made of two readers who had been suspended, but were restored eight days after. In that year readers as well as ministers "within aught myles, or vtherwayes at the good discretioun of the visitor," were enjoined to "resort to the place of Exercise ilk day of Exercise." To that same Assembly certain questions were presented by the Clerk of Secret Council, and of these one was: "Shall the Readers be presently discharged, or not; what are there names, and how many of them esteem ye worthy or unworthie to be continued?"—Ibid., pp. 364, 366, 371.

6. In 1579 "the Synodall Assemblie of Lowthian" propounded a series of questions to the Assembly. Of these, the very first was in these affirmative rather than interrogative terms: "In respect of great inconveniences that hes insewit, and daylie does insew be Readers in vseing thair office, the haill brether hes inhibite all Readers from ministring the Sacraments and solemnization of marriage, permitting nothing vnto them but proclamatioun of the bands, and simple reiding of the text," &c. The "Responsio" of the Assembly was: "So many Reidars as the Commissionars and Synodall Assemblies finds vnmeit to solemnize marriage, to be inhibite be them."—Ibid., pp. 438, 439.

7. In 1580 the Assembly, "after long reasoning," came to this conclusion "anent the office of Reidars that hes no farther gift of God bot simple reiding of the Scriptures,"—"That thair office is no ordinar office within the Kirk of God." This was followed up at the next session by two findings,—one requiring all readers to be examined *de novo*, and as many as were found not qualified after a two years' probation to be advanced to the office of the ministry, to be deposed from reading; the other declaring a simple reader incapable of holding a benefice, or of possessing and enjoying "the manse or gleib, quher ther is any Minister actually serving."—Ibid., pp. 455, 456, 457.

8. The Assembly of 1581 was that by which the Second Book of Discipline was registered in the Acts of the Kirk. In this elaborate exhibition of "the Policie of the Kirk" no mention is

made of either readers or exhorters, although "Pastours, Eldaris, Deacones, Clerkis of Assemblies, Takaris vp of the Psalmes, Beddales, and keiparis of the kirkis," all come in for a share of "the haill rent and patrimony of the Kirk." The omission is accounted for by the following decision "Anent Reidars" come to by the same Assembly: "The Kirk, in ane voyce, hes votit and concludit farder, That in no tyme comeing any Reider be admittit to the office of Reidar, be any having power within the Kirk."—Ibid., p. 513.

This abolition of the office of reader was, however, nominal or legislative; it certainly was not actual or in practice for many a year subsequent to 1581. And so—

9. In 1597 the Assembly is found passing a measure to remove the slander arising from such disorders as those of readers baptising illegitimate children and celebrating illegal marriages. The measure simply is, "That no Reidar minister the sacrament of baptisme in any way, in all tymes coming; and that they presume not to celebrate the bands of marriage without speciall command of the Minister of the Kirk."—Ibid., p. 927.

### V. *Scattered Notices regarding Readers in Church Records, &c., chronologically arranged.*

1573. Before the Assembly of that year there were laid "certaine heids proponed be my Lord Regents Grace concerning the provision of Ministers stipends." At the outset of the communication reference is made to one of the articles of the Leith Convention (1571)—viz.: "That the worthy and qualified Ministers and Preachers might be planted and distributed throughout the whole realme, and the readers specially appointed at every speciall kirk, where conveniently it might be." Toward the close of the Regent's document this suggestion is thrown out: "Seing the most part of the persons who were Channons, Monks, and Friars within this realme, have made profession of the true religion; it is therefore thought meet, That it be injoined to them to pass and serve as readers at the places where they shall be appointed."—'The Book of the Univ. Kirk,' pp. 277, 280.

1587. The Glasgow kirk-session ordained that "Mr William Struthers, teacher of musick, shall sing in the High Kirk, from the ringing of the first bell to the minister's coming in; and appoint

four men to sit beside him beneath the pulpit; and, in the mean time, that the chapters be read by the reader successively to the singing." —Wodrow's 'Collections on the Life of Weems,' pp. 22, 23.

1593. The same session proposed "a reader for one of the kirks of Glasgow to the Presbytery, there to be tryed and admitted by them."—Ibid., p. 23. In the same year, when determining the duties of "Beddalls," the session appointed "That, in the High Kirk Robert Stevenstoun ring the bell to sermons and prayers, open the kirk dure, and bring in the reader's book, and remain present in the time of prayer, for keeping of order in the kirk."—Ibid., pp. 59, 60.

1595. On the 11th December of that year "the Bible in the new Kirk that the reader reads on, is declared to belong to the Kirk and Session" of Glasgow; while a year later the same body "appoints a Scots Bible to be bought to be read upon in the High Kirk."—Ibid., p. 13.

1619. On the 23d September two readers were appointed to read daily, as well the morning as the evening prayers.—Ibid., p. 22.

1625. The Synod of Fife "appointed that ordinary readers in all congregations shall be tied to read in the public audience of the people only such prayers as are printed in the Psalm-Book and ordained by the Kirk of Scot. to be read publicly."—'Records of the Synod of Fife,' Abbotsford Club, p. 103.

1631. The minister of Inverkeithny, Presbytery of Strathbogie, was "ordaned to provyd for a reader."—'Extracts from the Presbytery Book of Strathbogie,' Spalding Club, 1843, p. 4.

1636. Robert Emlach, schoolmaister, compeared before the Strathbogie Presbytery. "The brethrein embraced him, and allowed him to read in the church, and to teache the children English."—Ibid., p. 9. "About this same tyme, in November 1636, the schoolmaster and reader in Kirkcudbright, brother to Mr Samuell Rutherfoord, being called before the High Commission, was commanded to leave that toune, and his charge there."—'The Hist. of the Kirk of Scot.,' Wodrow Soc., pp. 406, 407.

1637. Patrick Henrysone or Henderson, who had been censured in 1619 for absence on Christmas day, although he had provided a substitute "to take up the Psalm," refused to read the edict on July 13 in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, advertising the people that the new Service Books were ready, and would be used on the following Sabbath. "For this both the Bishop and Councill of

Edinb. assured him he behoved to quyt his place, whilk he condescended [consented] unto; yit he continued all that week in saying of the prayers, and the nixt Sabbath, still shedding many tears. . . . When the nixt Sabbath, Julie 23, came, the Bishop of Edinburgh, (after that the ordinare prayers had been read in the morning,) about 10 o'clock brought in the Service-Booke to the pulpit, and his Dean satt in the reader's seat with his Service Book before him, in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh. . . . All this week there wes no publict worship in Edinburgh, neither sermon nor prayers read morning or evening, as the custome was: yea, for 5 or 6 moneths after this, Mr Patrik Henderson read not the prayers; yea, the nixt Sabbath, Julie 30, verie few women came to sermon to the Great Kirk of Edinburgh."—'Row,' *ut sup.*, pp. 408, 410.

1642. At Botrifnie, Presbytery of Strathbogie, "the gentlemen, elderis, deacones, and otheris, such as were present, willinglie condiscendit to give a firlot of wictuall [grain] out of each pleugh of old to a scoolemaister quho wold reid befor the sermon, and teach their bairnes."—'Presb. Book of Strathbogie,' *ut sup.*, pp. 31, 32.

1643. At Inverkeithny, "Mr William Harper . . . was ordained, the next Saboth after sermon, to come befor the pulpit, quhen the reider sall call vpon him, and ther vpon his knees sall humblie acknowledge that he had offendit God and the minister by his malicious and vncharitable speeches."—Ibid., p. 37. Newbattle, in the Presbytery of Dalkeith, six miles from Edinburgh, was the parish of which saintly Leighton became ordained minister in 1641. There in this same year a reader and schoolmaster was appointed at a salary of 200 merks per annum. The reader was William Hamilton. In the Session Records for 1643 it is recorded: "It was with universal consent, both of minister and elders, condescendit upon that thair should be built befoir the pulpet ane convenient seatt of timber for the reidar as in uther kirkis; and the elders to sit at the tabil or boord befoir the pulpett."—'Archbishop Leighton, Biography and Selections.' By William Blair, D.D. Lond., 1884. Pp. 51, 52.

1649. When the Strathbogie Presbytery met at Gartly on the 14th of March for visitation of the said kirk, the elders, having sworn "vith vplifted handis, to declare quhat they knew concerning ther minister in the particularis they sould be posed vpon," and said minister having been removed, "confessed he had ane James

Marr, reader, continowing in his office, contrar to the directorie." —'Presb. Book of Strathbogie,' p. 99.

1660. The West Session of Glasgow referred "Robert Forrest to the Presbytery, for reading, singing, and praying publickly to the congregation, contrary to the Directory for Public Worship."—Wodrow's 'Collections on the Life of Mr David Weems,' p. 23.

1731. In his "Analecta" for this year Wodrow takes note of a process "between the Marquis of Twedail and some Minister and parish, about a Reader and Precentor, which he claims pouer to put in as a Reader of the Bible; and the parish and session pretend pouer to chuse their oun Precentor, the office of Readers being abolished." The annalist cannot give particulars; "but the Marquise caryed his point before the Lords, and he was found to have the presentation of Reader."—'Analecta,' vol. iv. p. 215.

## VI. Nineteenth-Century Writers on the Office of Reader.

1. The editors of 'Gordon's Hist. of Scots Affairs' claim for James Paterson of Aberdeen the distinction of being the last ecclesiastical reader in Scotland. According to them this northern worthy was for more than forty years schoolmaster, session-clerk, and precentor in the parish of Old Machar, while every Sunday forenoon he read from the lectern of the Cathedral Church portions of the Psalter and passages of Old and New Testament Scripture. This he continued to do till within a short time of his death, which took place in the beginning of the present century.—Spalding Club, Pref., pp. xxv, xxvi.

2. The biographer of Knox takes notice of the employment of readers at the Reformation (Period vii. p. 166, Un. ed.); and in Note NN—"Early Practice of the Church of Scotland"—he deals with the same subject (p. 369).

3. Dr Leishman, in 'The Ritual of the Church,' deals with the same subject in a fresh and suggestive manner. His distinctive positions are (1) that as a rule the Reformation readers "had been of the clergy before, and were not merely, in the words of Dr M'Crie, 'certain pious persons who had received a common education'—a very rare advantage in pre-Reformation days;" and (2) that in the generations following the Reformation "a new class of Readers came into existence with the same name, but a different

position."—'The Church of Scotland, Past and Present,' vol. v. pp. 360-363.

Possibly Dr Leishman may push both positions a little too far, but what he advances in favour of them is eminently worthy of consideration.

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## APPENDIX N.

### Present-day Attempts at Revision and Adaptation of Westminster Directory. Period VI., p. 352.

By none of the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland has the attempt been made to recast and adapt to the requirements and practices of our times this service-book of the seventeenth century. Other branches of our common Presbyterianism have, however, entered upon the work of revision.

The first to do so was the Presbyterian Church of England. In 1885 the Synod of that Church referred the subject to a committee which reported from year to year, and in 1889 submitted to the Supreme Court 'The Directory for the Public Worship of God, agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Revised by a Committee of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of England.' 60 pp. This Draft of Revised Directory the Synod regarded "with general approval," and, while reserving final judgment, authorised the committee to put copies in circulation. In 1891 the Committee on Public Worship embodied an additional service for the dedication of a church in their report. The proposal to authorise the printing of that service and the binding of it along with the Draft was met by an amendment calling upon the Synod to decline to proceed further in the matter, and to intimate that no Synodical approval has been given to that book. It was in support of this amendment that speeches were delivered by the Rev. S. R. Macphail, Liverpool, and Mr J. M. Douglas, London, which were afterwards published in pamphlet form in the publication noticed in Period IV.—'Liturgical Proposals to Presbyterians of England tried by History, Experience, and Scripture.' Eventually it was agreed to receive the report as an interim one.

Up to the present date the English Draft of a revised Directory is still *sub judice*, the Synod of 1892 having postponed final decision upon the matter.

As published in 1889, the amended Directory consists of draft services for public worship, for the Administration of Baptism, for the Celebration of the Lord's Supper, for the Solemnisation of Marriage, and for the Burial of the Dead. At the commencement of the Sabbath service the call to the congregation to engage in worship is to be by the Minister reciting one or more passages of Scripture, "the people reverently standing." When the prayer of adoration and invocation is offered, "it is seemly that the people, devoutly kneeling, should after this and every Prayer audibly say, *Amen.*" There is to be the chanting or singing of psalms or hymns during the service. "Where the Creed, commonly called the 'Apostles' Creed,' is used in public worship, it may be recited by the Minister and people standing," after the reading of Scripture and before the prayer of General Thanksgiving, Supplication, and Intercession. The Lord's Prayer "should be said either as the first or last of these Prayers, and said by all." Notices are to be given before the Prayer for Illumination with which the preacher may preface his sermon; and the Offertory is to be taken subsequent to the brief Prayer after sermon, in the course of which the Minister is to invoke God's blessing upon the Offertory, devoting it to His service.

"The Sacrament of Baptism," it is stated, "is ordinarily to be administered during public worship in presence of the Congregation. Yet there are cases in which it will be found expedient to hold the service more privately, of which the Minister is to judge." In the case of adults, provision is made for the Candidate, if *he* so desire, declaring "*his* faith and experience more fully in *his* own words." Thereafter, a brief prayer being offered, "the people present all standing up, the Minister shall baptise the Candidate by pouring water on *his* head; or else, if it be desired, and may be done in a seemly manner, by dipping *his* body under the water; at the same time calling *him* by *his* Christian name, and pronouncing these words: *I baptise thee into the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.*"

When an infant is baptised, after the parent (or sponsor) has answered several questions, "all present reverently standing, the parent or sponsor shall take the infant in his arms. The Minister

shall pour or sprinkle water upon the head of the infant (or else, if it be desired, may dip *his* body therein)."

In the Order for the Celebration of the Lord's Supper, after the Minister has taken his place at the Communion Table and given a short address, "let a pause be made, during which the Communicants shall take their seats in the place assigned to them." The eucharistic prayer "may conclude with this ancient Doxology: *With Angels and Archangels*," &c. The closing rubric in this section is in these words:—

"Although the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is not to be received by any one alone, yet, in cases of protracted illness or infirmity, it may be proper that it be administered in private. When this is done it shall always be with the cognisance of the Session, and in such wise that others shall unite with the sick person in the act of Communion."

The Order for the Solemnisation of Marriage provides for a ring being placed by the bridegroom on the left hand of the bride, "in token and pledge of the covenant now made."

In the Order for the Burial of the Dead, the minister is "either to attend the body from the house to the place of burial, or else he may meet the mourners at the graveyard, as may be desired by the relatives." The service is to begin "either in the Mortuary Chapel or other place of worship, or, if it be preferred, at the residence of the deceased." The first part of the service is to consist of the reading of a few suitable Scripture sentences and one or other of two psalms, prayer, the reading of Scripture passages, and prayer for the mourners. "Hereafter the Lord's Prayer may fitly be repeated by all." When the body is being carried to the grave the minister is to go in front; "and while preparations are being made for laying it therein he may recite" certain words of Scripture. "When the body has been laid in the grave he shall say: *Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God*," &c. "Here a Hymn may be sung." This is to be followed by the Minister saying, "Let us pray," and then offering either a prayer beginning, "Blessed God, who by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead hast begotten us again unto a lively hope," or the Anglican one, the opening words of which are, "Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord." The service is to close with Hebrews xiii. 20, 21 for Benediction.

In the preface to the Draft it is admitted that "the alterations now made go beyond the ordinary limits of revision. It is believed,

however, that the general principles which underlie the original document have not been violated in any of the changes and additions which it is proposed to introduce. . . . The work remains in its essential features a directory, and not a liturgy. . . . Its object is to guide and regulate, but by no means to impose an inflexible verbal routine."

Another endeavour to bring the Westminster Directory into harmony with present-day ideas and usages has been made and carried into effect by the federated Churches of Australia and Tasmania. The Federal Assembly of this body met at Brisbane in July 1891. At the sixth sederunt a report from the Committee on the Revised Directory, prepared a few years ago, and compared throughout with that issued by the Committee of the English Presbyterian Church, was submitted by Dr Steel, when it was unanimously agreed: "The Federal Assembly approve generally of the Draft of the Revised Directory for the Public Worship of God, . . . and resolve that it be recommended for adoption by Ministers of the Churches as far as possible." The Australasian Revised Directory consists of fifteen chapters. The arrangement of the Order of divine service recommended to be uniformly observed by all the congregation of the federated Church is set forth in chapter iii., and is as follows:—

1. Introductory Praise of God.
2. Brief Prayer of Invocation.
3. Reading a Lesson or portion of Scripture from the Old Testament.
4. Prayer of Confession, Petition, and Thanksgiving.
5. Praise.
6. Reading a Lesson from the New Testament.
7. Prayer of Intercession for all conditions of men, and the Church of Christ, with the Lord's Prayer before or after.
8. Praise.
9. Sermon or Lecture.
10. Praise.
11. Prayer.
12. Praise.
13. Benediction.

For purposes of comparison I may here insert other three tables of service gathered from Presbyterian Service-books.

I., II. The Order of service as provided in Period III. by the Book of Common Order, set side by side with that in Period IV. by the Westminster Directory:—

| *Book of Common Order.* | | *Westminster Directory.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Prayer. | The Reader's Service. | 1. Prayer. |
| 2. Reading of Old and New Testament. | | 2. Reading of Old and New Testament. |
| 3. Psalm sung. | | 3. Psalm sung. |

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|---|---|
| 4. Prayer. | 4. Prayer. |
| 5. Psalm. } Morning Service. | |
| 6. Prayer. } | |
| 7. Sermon. | 5. Sermon. |
| 8. Prayer. | 6. Prayer. |
| 9. Lord's Prayer. | 7. Lord's Prayer. |
| 10. Belief. | |
| 11. Psalm sung. | 8. Psalm sung. |
| 12. Benediction. | 9. Benediction. |

III. Table of Service according to Draft of Revised Directory published by the Presbyterian Church of England :—

1. Call to Worship.
2. Prayer of Invocation.
3. Opening Psalm or Hymn.
4. Confession of Sin, with Petitions for divine Absolution and Cleansing.
5. Reading of Old Testament.
6. Praise.
7. Reading of New Testament.
   Address to Children (or after first Reading).
8. Praise.
9. The Apostles' Creed.
10. Prayers as follows :—
    (1) General Thanksgiving.
    (2) Supplication for Grace.
    (3) Prayer of Intercession.
    (4) Lord's Prayer.
11. Praise.
    (Notices.)
12. Prayer for Illumination.
13. The Sermon.
14. Brief Prayer.
    (The Offertory.)
15. Praise.
16. Apostolic Benediction.

To return to the Australian and Tasmanian Order of service, the following rubrics are added to the arrangement :—

1. "Public intimations may most conveniently be made before the sermon, or at such other time as may be arranged by the minister. Collections may also be taken after said intimations, if not arranged to be taken at the doors of the church.

2. "This arrangement may, at the discretion of the minister, be abridged in special circumstances, or slightly changed in the parts of Prayer and Praise."

While singing, congregations are recommended to stand; but no posture is mentioned as suitable for prayer, beyond this that at the close of public worship it is suggested, "Let all stand up while the Benediction is pronounced." When the Lord's Prayer is used, "the congregation may be invited to join audibly, or to add Amen."

The baptismal service is largely modelled upon that in the Presbyterian Church of England Draft, but the allowable alternative in the latter of dipping the body under the water is not provided; in the case both of adults and of infants there is simply to be a "pour-

ing water" on the head. In both orders it is recommended that the words of institution contained in the 28th of Matthew be taken from the Revised Version of 1881.

There is nothing calling for remark in the chapter "Of the Administration of the Lord's Supper," unless it be that at the close of the Consecration Prayer it is recommended that "the minister recite the Apostles' Creed, as a brief summary of Christian faith."

In the chapter "Of the Solemnisation of Matrimony" there is a resemblance to the corresponding section in the English Presbyterian Draft, the latter providing a fuller and more elaborate service, certain statements on the part of bridegroom and bride being prescribed by Act of Parliament, so that unless they are used the marriage cannot be registered.

The ritual provision for the burial of the dead is given in complete form, and so arranged that it can be used not only as a Directory for ministers, although not imposed upon them, but also as a form to be employed when a minister is unavoidably absent from the funeral. The general arrangement is similar to that of the English Presbyterian Revised Directory, but the selection of Scripture passages is larger: the formula to be used at the grave beginning in the latter with, "Dearly Beloved, seeing it hath pleased Almighty God to take to Himself the soul of our brother departed," opens in the other with, "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to take out of the world the soul of our departed brother;" the Anglican prayer beginning, "Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord," does not find a place in the Australian Directory. In the latter, however, there is a rubric which is peculiar to that service-book, and is to this effect: "An address, if thought desirable, may then be delivered to those present; but ministers are to be careful in their words so as not to imply that persons of wicked or impenitent lives are saved, or to wound the feelings of the bereaved by unnecessary references to the wickedness of the deceased."

Both in the English and the Colonial service permission is given to sing a hymn at the grave—"Here a Hymn may be sung;" "A hymn, if convenient, may also be sung."

## APPENDIX O.

### The Communion Office of the Westminster Directory.
Period VI., p. 355.

The section of the Westminster Directory devoted to "the Celebration of the Communion, or Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," has interest and value both for the divine and the historian.

For the systematic theologian the importance arises from the evidence furnished therein that the Westminster divines favoured what would now be regarded as High in opposition to Low Church views on the subject of the Sacraments generally, and, in particular, when they sought to express the spiritual and real presence of the Body and Blood of the Lord in the ordinance. This appears in "the Prayer, Thanksgiving, or Blessing of the Bread and Wine," through which, along with "the Words of Institution," the Elements are "sanctified," and at a certain stage of which the Minister is directed "earnestly to pray to God, the Father of all Mercies, and God of all Consolation, to vouchsafe His gracious Presence, and the effectual Working of His Spirit in us, *and so to* sanctifie *these Elements*, both of Bread and Wine, and to bless his own Ordinance, *that we* may *receive* by Faith, *the Body and Blood* of Jesus Christ crucified for us, and so to feed upon him, that he may be one with us, and we with him."[1]

The full significance of this statement will be better appreciated if it be studied along with other Westminster pronouncements on the same subject and to the same effect. These will be found in the 170th Answer in the Larger Catechism, and the 29th chapter of the Confession of Faith, paragraph vii. The theological value of the Directory statement now quoted, and thus supplemented, becomes still greater if the matter treated of is viewed in relation to the doctrinal bearing and leanings of other Communion offices, Anglican and Scottish. I cannot, within the limits of an appendix, do more than supply the following chronological memoranda:—

1st, The office for "The Supper of the Lorde and The Holy Communion, commonly called the Masse," given in the First Prayer-

[1] "And we with him." Dr Leishman's reprint and most modern editions insert "one" between "we" and "with"; but it is not found in the first nor earlier editions.

Book of Edward VI., 1549, has this sentence in the consecration prayer for the priest when he has turned to the altar, and before he has taken the bread into his hands: "Heare us (o merciful father) we besech thee; and with thy holy spirite and worde, vouchsafe to bl✠esse and sanc✠tifie these thy gyftes, and creatures of bread and wyne, that they maie be unto us the bodye and bloude of thy moste derely beloued sonne Jesus Christe."

2d, Similar to this is a paragraph in the Prayer of Consecration contained in Laud's Book of Common Prayer (1637) to be offered by the presbyter: "Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and of thy almighty goodness vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify with thy word and holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son; so that we receiving them . . . may be partakers of the same his most precious body and blood.

3d, "The Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion" in the Anglican Prayer-Book of 1662—which is the presently authorised version—has the same paragraph in the Prayer of Consecration thus worded: "Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee; and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood."

4th, What is regarded by Episcopalian writers as the "Received Office" of the Episcopal Church in Scotland dates from 1764 ['The Life and Times of Patrick Torry, D.D.' By the Rev. J. M. Neale, M.A. Lond., 1856. Chap. vii. p. 270]. In this office *The Invocation* is in these words: "And we most humbly beseech Thee, O merciful Father, to hear us, and of Thy Almighty goodness, vouchsafe to bless and Sanctify with Thy Word and Holy Spirit, these Thy Gifts and Creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may become the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son" (ibid., p. 421). On the above words, "that they may become," Mr Neale remarks that they are "intended to symbolize with the Eastern Church," and that their meaning may be thus expressed: "The bread and wine offered on the Altar are transmuted into the Body and Blood of Christ, by the words of institution, and by the invocation by the Church of the Holy Ghost" (ibid., Appendix, p. 446).

If the Directory statement given at the outset of this Appendix be placed alongside of the above extracts from the Consecration Prayer of English and Scottish Communion Offices, it will be seen that the doctrine of the Sacraments held by the Westminster divines, if not so high as that of the Episcopal office of 1764, is certainly higher than that of the Anglican Prayer-Book of 1662, and not less high than that of the Book of Edward VI. in 1549, and of the Laud Liturgy of 1637.

Professor Laidlaw, of the New College, Edinburgh, to whom I am indebted for a valued communication on this subject, refers to two competent authorities, who confirm the above position. 1st, Goulburn, who, writing on the English Communion Office, points out the difference between the old and the new sacramental formula, affirms the change was carefully and designedly made, and reduces the difference between the old and high theory on the one hand and the new and low on the other to the difference between saying, "Bless and sanctify *the elements*, that we may receive," and "Bless *us*, that we may receive." 2d, Dr Alfred Edersheim, who in the course of his ministry signed both confessional standards, and who stated in 1890: "Upon the whole, I have no hesitation in saying that the Westminster Confession is in regard to the Sacraments decidedly higher than the XXXIX Articles."

Turning now to the historical aspect of the Communion section of the Directory, we find ourselves handling that which gave rise to more protracted and keener controversy than any other portion of the Westminster service-book. Without attempting to cover the whole field, I shall touch briefly on the following points.

I. The Frequency of Communion.—The recommendation in the Book of Discipline favoured *quarterly* celebration of the Sacrament, the first "Sondays" of March, June, September, and December being the months and Sabbaths thought most suitable (chap. xi. § 5). The Book of Common Order speaks of *monthly* communion as customary, but leaves it open to congregations to arrange for the dispensation "so oft as they shall think expedient" (chap. x.) The General Assembly of 1562 ordained the Communion to be ministered four times in the year in burghs, and twice in the year in country parishes ('The Book of the Univ. Kirk,' vol. i. p. 30). The Westminster Directory deals with the matter of frequency in the first rubric of direction in these general and discretionary terms:

"The Communion, or Supper of the Lord, is frequently to be celebrated: But how often, may be considered and determined by the Ministers, and other Church-Governors of each Congregation, as they shall find most convenient for the Comfort and Edification of the People committed to their Charge. And when it shall be administered, we judge it convenient to be done after the Morning Sermon."

From an early period the practice in Scotland has favoured *annual* communion. From 1560 to 1564 there were three communions observed yearly in Edinburgh.—(Principal Lee's 'Hist. of the Ch. of Scot.,' vol. i. pp. 389, 390). Wodrow gives a list of communions observed in Glasgow from 1584 to 1705. In the great majority of cases the administering was annual, there being only some six or seven exceptions in the years between 1584 and 1645.—('Biographical Collections,' vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 27-30). In 1602 the Assembly arranged for the "visitation of kirks" by commissioners, and one of the topics of inquiry in the case of "ilk Pastour" was, "If he ministers the communion yearly with due examinatiouns preceiding?" ('The Book of the Univ. Kirk,' vol. iii. p. 992); and even the prelatic Assembly of 1616 at Aberdeen, while it provided for quarterly communions in burghs and half-yearly in rural parishes (one communion in both cases to be at Easter), only threatened civil penalties in the case of such as did not communicate at least once in the twelvemonth (ibid., pp. 1124, 1128).

In this connection, however, reference must be made to a practice which obtained for upwards of a century after the Reformation. When the table accommodation was limited, and the number of communicants large, the communion was extended over two or more successive Sabbaths. Of this practice many instances could be adduced. I content myself with the following: 1st, Passing over as doubtful an entry in the Edinburgh Session Records, from which it is possible to infer that in 1560 Knox ministered the sacrament "in ye hie kirk of Edinb." on "Sonday, 2 of March," and thereafter on "Mononday, Twysday, Wednesday, Thursday, Fryday, Setterday" (Principal Lee, *ut sup.*, p. 389), there is in the same transcript this record of a communion in 1562, "*Sonday*, 20 *Dec.*, *and Sonday*, 27 *Dec.*;" while in 1563 the dating and describing of the winter communion is as follows, "1*st Communion*, 12 *and* 19 *Dec.* (the nobility being in town") (ibid., p. 390). 2d,

For three years in succession (1588-1590) Wodrow's list of Glasgow communions mentioned above reads thus: "2d and 3d Sabbath of May, 2d and 3d Sabbath of Agust, 2d and 3d Sabbath of May;" in 1625 the entry is "3d and 4th Sabbath of Aprile and 1st and 2d of May;" while for the following year it is 2d, 3d, and 4th Sabbath of Aprile and 1st of May" (*ut sup.*, pp. 28, 29). 3d, In the Session Record of Anstruther Wester, there is this minute under date 28th March 1592: "It is tho$^{t}$ gud y$^{t}$ ye Supper of ye Lord be celebrat ye nixt Sabothe day in this ordor, a certain, sa mony as we may easely serve befoir twell hours, and ye rest to communicat ye nixt day that sall be fund meetest, befoir ye peiple go to ye fishing" (Principal Lee, *ut sup.*, p. 402). 4th, The Session Records of Canongate, Edinburgh, for January 15, 1613, ordains public intimation to be made from the pulpit next Sabbath "of the holy communion to be celebrat the last Sab. of Jan$^{y}$ inst. and the twa first Sabboths of Februar" (Principal Lee, *ut sup.*, p. 398). 5th, The Dunfermline Session in 1656 resolved "that the twa days of the communion shall be on the 10th and 17th days of Aug$^{t}$ next;" and at a later date they gave "advertisement to families to divide themselves equally, the ane half the first day, the other half the second day, and that there will be sermon in another part without the kirk for those that communicate not" (Principal Lee, *ut sup.*, p. 405). 6th, In Alexander Henderson's treatise upon 'The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland' (1641-1690), the opening paragraph of the section relating to "The Order of administring the Communion or the Lords Supper" is in these terms: "The Sacrament of the *Lords Supper* is more frequently ministred in some Congregations than in others, according to the number of the Communicants, and the proficiency of the People in the way of Christ: and in some places upon one Sabbath, in other places upon two, or three Sabbaths, as it may be done most conveniently, which is determined by the Minister and Eldership of the Church."

II. The Place of Communion.—When the section relating to the Supper Sacrament came to be drafted, it soon appeared that a serious difference obtained between the practice of the English Puritans and the Scottish Presbyterians on this point. In England the custom had been to consecrate the elements at a small table, and thereafter take them to the communicants who remained in

their pews. In Scotland, on the other hand, the communicants left their pews and took their seats along the sides of a table which extended the length of the church. The English members of Assembly were naturally averse to change their national usage. The Scottish commissioners believed table communicating to be essential to the significance of the rite, and were resolved it should have a place in the international book of common order. Baillie gives a graphic account of the dispute in its several stages. "They will not," he writes in April 1644, "and saith the people will never yield to alter their practise . . . to come out of their pews to a table, they deny the necessitie of it: we affirme it necessare, and will stand to it." Then in June of the same year he notes: "This day before noone we gott sundrie propositions of our Directory for the sacrament of the Lords Supper past; but in the afternoone we could not move one inch. The unhappie Independents would mangle that sacrament. No catechising nor preparation before; no thanksgiving after; no sacramentall doctrine, or chapters, in the day of celebration; no coming up to any table; but a carrying of the element to all in their seats athort the church." And on the 28th of the same month he gives expression to his annoyance. "This day we were vexed also in the Assemblie: we thought we had passed with consent, sitting at the table; but behold Mr Nye, Goodwin, and Bridges cast all in the houes, denying to us the necessitie of any table, but pressing the communicating of all in their seats, without coming up to a table."—('Letters and Journals,' vol. ii. pp. 148, 195, 199.) In the end a form of expression was employed, which is of the nature of a compromise. "After this Exhortation, Warning, and Invitation," directs the rubric, "the Table being before decently covered, and so conveniently placed, that the Communicants may orderly sit about it, or at it," &c. Thus the Scots could come to and take their places "at" the table of consecration and communion; while the English, occupying seats in the nearest pews, could communicate sitting "about" the table.

In the General Assembly Act which authorised the Directory, care was taken to guard against it being thought that the Church of Scotland did not hold decided views upon the subject by the insertion of this declaratory clause: "Provided alwayes, that the Clause in the *Directory* of the Administration of the LORD'S Supper, which mentioneth the Communicants sitting about the

Table, or at it, be not interpreted as if, in the Judgement of this Kirk, it were indifferent, and free for any of the Communicants, not to come to, and receive at the table." Two days later, in the opinion or judgment of the committee, which the Assembly approved and ordained to be observed "in all time hereafter," it was provided: "That there be no reading in the time of communicating, but the Minister making a short exhortation at every table. . . . That while the tables are dissolving and filling there be alwayes singing of some portion of a Psalme, according to the custome. That the communicants, both before their going to and after their coming from the table, shall only joyne themselves to the present publick exercise then in hand. . . . That before the serving of the tables there be only one sermon delivered to those who are to communicate, and that in the kirk where the service is to be performed. And that in the same kirk there be one sermon of thanksgiving after the communion is ended. . . . That of those who are present in the kirk where the communion is celebrate none be permitted to go forth whill [until] the whole tables be served and the blessing pronounced, unlesse it be for more commodious order, and in other cases of necessity."—'Acts of the General Assembly, 1638-1842,' pp. 116, 120.

Considerable changes in the matter of the place for communicating have taken place in Scotland since the days of the Westminster Assembly. A separate table for the placing and sanctifying of the elements is now generally employed. Pews which could be converted into tables were for a time used for the accommodation of communicants instead of the one long table. Now, to admit of simultaneous communion, it is quite common to have the elements carried by elders from pew to pew, and in some cases from area to gallery, with only a strip of linen on the book-board to represent the tables of bygone days.

III. The Posture of Communion.—The posture on the part of English Episcopalians had always been that of kneeling—"all kneeling humbly upon their knees" being the rubric in the Prayer-Book of Elizabeth (1558), as in that of Edward VI. (1549); and had Scotland submitted to royal and prelatic dictation, and accepted Laud's Liturgy of 1637, it would have been the same in the northern kingdom from that date—"all humbly kneeling" being required of the people in that Anglican service-book. In the case

of the English Puritans, there would seem to have been no decided preference for any particular posture, and no uniformity of practice. So, when the English Presbyterians of the Savoy conference in 1661 drew out their "Reformation of the Liturgy," generally termed the Savoy Liturgy, they inserted this injunction of toleration in their "Order of Celebrating the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ": "And let none of the people be forced to sit, stand, or kneel in the act of receiving whose judgment is against it."—Hall's 'Relig. Liturg.,' vol. iv. p. 74.

The Scottish Commissioners, as was to be expected, contended strongly for the sitting posture or gesture. They carried their point against the Anglicans, with whom they had the most strenuous conflict; and they secured the acquiescence of the Puritans, the only difference being that while the Scottish ritual framers regarded sitting as imperative or essential, the English Conformists preferred to have it left an open question or matter of indifference. "They [the English members on the Directory Committee] are content of sitting," reports Baillie, "albeit not as of a ryte institute" ('Letters and Journals,' vol. ii. p. 148). The result was that the only posture for communicating mentioned in the Directory and Acts of Assembly is the sitting one. The communion-table at which the minister is to take and keep his place while officiating, "being before decently covered," is to be "so conveniently placed that the Communicants may orderly *sit* about it, or at it."

As bearing upon this subject, as well as interesting in itself, I may here introduce a description of the administering of the Lord's Supper after the manner of the Church of Scotland written by Samuel Rutherfurd shortly before taking part in the compiling of the Westminster Directory. The description occurs in one of that voluminous writer's works to which he gave the title, 'A Peacable and Temperate Plea for Pauls Presbyterie in Scotland, or A Modest and Brotherly Dispute of the Government of the Church of Scotland,' &c., Lond., 1642. In chapter xx. of this treatise, the question is proposed and discussed, "Whether or no the government of the Church of Scotland can be proved by God's Word to be lawfull." The sixth article of that chapter treats of the Lord's Supper. and the following are the leading contents of the article: "A Table is covered, not an Altar erected. A Sermon for the purpose in hand is preached before, as Christ doth, as a Sermon goeth before

Baptisme. The banqueters sit downe at Table, even as Jesus sat downe with the twelve Disciples, the Lord honouring them with Table-honour with himself. In the meanwhile the people are eating and drinking, the Pastor is speaking of Christ's love in dying for man, of the Lord's death, of faith required in annuntiating the Lord's death till he come againe, even as Christ all the while entertained his guests with heavenly Sermons, and having done, they sing a Psalme, as Christ and his disciples did.

"All the while Elders in reverend and decent manner attend the service of the Table, as the banquet requireth, for that some served at that Supper is gathered from Mat. 26. 19, Mark 14. 15, where mention is made of a large upper room furnished and prepared, which is a cleare warrant for a large Table, a cleane and faire Table-cloth, Basons, Cups, and vessels decent and comely for that service, and from Christ his girding himself with a towelle, and washing their feet and standing as a servant.

"The nature of the Sacrament requires thanksgiving, and therefore, after noone a sermon of thanksgiving is preached, which is also warranted from Mat. 26. 30."

The mention of Rutherfurd leads me to notice a statement in one of his undated letters which it is not very easy to explain. Writing to Lady Boyd from St Andrews, he remarks: "Anent read prayers, Madam, I could never see precept, promise, or practice for them in God's word. Our Church never allowed them, but men took them up at their own choice. The word of God maketh reading (1 Tim. iv. 13) and praying (1 Thess. v. 17) two different worships. In reading, God speaketh to us (2 Kings xxii. 10, 11); in praying, we speak to God (Psal. xxii. 2 and xxviii. 1). I had never faith to think well of them. In my weak judgment, it were good if they were out of the service of God. I cannot think them a fruit or effect of the Spirit of adoption, seeing the user cannot say of such prayers, 'Let the words of my mouth, and the meditations of my heart, be acceptable in thy sight, O Lord, my strength and my Redeemer'; which the servants of God ought to say of their prayers (Psal. xix. 14). For such prayers are meditations set down in paper and ink, and cannot be his heart-meditations who useth them: the saints never used them, and God never commanded them: and a promise to hear any prayers, except the pouring out of the soul to God, we can never read."—Letter cccii.

The difficulty here is to understand how, knowing what he must

have known as to the provision for read prayers in the reader's part of the service as conducted in the sixteenth century, the writer should yet affirm, "Our Church never allowed them." Possibly he may have in view the prayers which the minister was always expected to "conceive," over and above the printed ones provided in the Book of Common Order. Evidently Rutherfurd was no friend to reading in the pulpit, whether of sermons or of prayers. As to sermon-reading, when setting forth the pastor's duty in the work already quoted from, he has this pithy pronouncement as to use and wont in his day: "We acknowledge no reading Pastors, but only Pastors gifted, who are able to cut the word aright, apt to teach, able to teach others, sent of God to preach. We have no Pastors who may administer the Sacraments, but may not and cannot preach the word, contrary to Christ's ordinance."

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## APPENDIX P.

### Formation and Constitution of "The Scottish Church Society."

In June 1892 initial steps were taken to form a new Society in connection with the Church of Scotland. On the 19th of October a private meeting, presided over by the Rev. Professor Milligan of Aberdeen, was held in Edinburgh for the purpose of considering and adopting the draft constitution.

The following are the leading planks in the platform of the Society:—

I. The name of the Society shall be "The Scottish Church Society."

II. The motto shall be, "Ask for the old paths . . . and walk therein."

III. The general purpose shall be to defend and advance catholic doctrine, as set forth in the ancient creeds, and embodied in the Standards of the Church of Scotland, and generally to assert Scriptural principles in all matters relating to Church order and policy, Christian work, and spiritual life throughout Scotland.

IV. Among the special objects to be aimed at shall be the following:—

1. The consistent affirmation of the divine basis, supernatural life, and heavenly calling of the Church.

2. The fostering of a due sense of the historic continuity of the Church from the first.

3. The maintaining of the necessity of a valid ordination to the holy ministry, and the celebration in a befitting manner of the rite of ordination.

4. The assertion of the efficacy of the sacraments.

5. The promotion of the religious education and pastoral care of the young on the basis of holy baptism.

6. The restoration of the Holy Communion to its right place in relation to the worship of the Church and to the spiritual life of the baptised.

7. The revival of daily service wherever practicable.

8. The observance in its main features of the Christian Year.

9. The encouragement, where practicable, of free and open churches.

10. The advancement of a higher spiritual life among the clergy.

11. The restoration of more careful discipline of clergy and laity.

12. The deepening in the laity of a due sense of their priesthood, and the encouraging them to fulfil their calling in the worship and work of the Church.

13. The promotion of right methods for the pastoral training of candidates for the holy ministry.

14. The promotion of evangelistic work on Church lines.

15. The placing on a right basis of the financial support of the Church through systematic giving, and the restoration of the weekly offering to its proper place in thought and worship.

16. The better fulfilment by the Church of her duties in regard to the education and to the care of the poor.

17. The consideration of social problems, with a view to their adjustment on a basis of Christian justice and brotherhood.

18. The maintenance of the law of the Church in regard to marriage.

19. The maintenance of the Scriptural view (as held by the Reformers and early Assemblies) as to the heinousness of the sin of sacrilege.

20. The reverent care and seemly ordering of churches and

churchyards; and the preservation of ancient ecclesiastical monuments.

21. The deepening of a penitential sense of the sin and peril of schism.

22. The furtherance of catholic unity in every way consistent with true loyalty to the Church of Scotland.

V. Among the methods to be adopted for the promotion of these objects shall be:—

1. Private and united prayer.

2. Meetings for conference as circumstances may require.

3. A public Church Society Congress, to be held annually in one of the larger towns in Scotland; a full report of the proceedings of each Congress to be afterwards published and circulated.

4. The preparation and publication from time to time of such occasional papers, forms of service, sermons, class-books, parochial or other leaflets, and devotional literature as shall be approved by the Society.

5. The delivery of special sermons or lectures in connection with the Society.

6. The provision of aids to the spiritual life of the clergy.

7. The organisation of parochial missions.

VI. That the membership of the Society shall be open to such persons, whether of the clergy or laity, as are in general sympathy with the above objects; and that admission, after the final adjustment of the constitution, shall be at an annual meeting by the majority of the votes of those present.

Women may be admitted as associates.

The constitution having been adopted, office-bearers were appointed as follows: President, the Rev. Professor Milligan, D.D. Vice-Presidents, the Rev. Dr A. K. H. Boyd; the Rev. Dr Leishman; the Rev. Dr Sprott; the Rev. Dr John M'Leod. Secretary, the Rev. Dr Cooper, Aberdeen. Treasurer, the Rev. Theodore Marshall, Caputh. Council—The above, along with the Rev. Dr H. M. Hamilton; the Revs. M. P. Johnstone, Fraserburgh; A. Wallace Williamson; H. J. Wotherspoon; J. Crawford; George Campbell, Eastwood; John Parker; and James Landreth.

It was agreed that another meeting of the Society should be held in May, just prior to the meetings of General Assembly; and the Business Committee was charged with the organisation of a Congress to be held at Glasgow early in November 1893.

# INDEX.


Aberdeen, Old, singing Doxology in, 249; see Breviary.
Abstinence, Sunday of, 123.
Act, Assembly, for preparing Directory and against Innovations, 179, 180; concerning religion and Church government, 226; Rescissory, 226 and n. 106; anent Administration of Sacraments, 247; for guidance of Commissioners, 255; anent Lecturing, 256; Barrier, 256 and n. 33; for Settling Quiet and Peace of the Church, 254, 255. See also Assembly.
——, British Parliament, favouring Toleration, 268.
Adair, W., Rev., of Ayr, 207 n. 62.
Adamson, J., Principal of Edinb. Univ., 277.
Aidan, Bishop of Northumbria, 10.
Aimes, W., on the three recent Ceremonies, 207 and n. 63.
A. K. H. B., dislike of Dr R. Lee's Prayers, 325 n. 19; Articles by, upon "The New Liturgies of the Scottish Kirk" and "The New Hymnology of the Scottish Kirk," 325 n. 19, 332 n. 36. See also Boyd.
Anderson, J., Rev., of Dumbarton, 97, 106.
Angles, conversion of, 10.
Anne, Queen, accession of, 258.
Anthems, Prof. Beattie favours use of in public worship, 313; music for provided for by Dr A. Thomson and R. A. Smith, 319.
Archbishops, two, deposed and excommunicated in 1638, 171.
Argyle, Lady, 129.
Argyll, Duke of, on Presbyterian Services, Lord's Prayer, Church Music, responsive reading of Psalter, 345, 346.
Arnold, T., of Rugby, description of Scottish Presbyterian Worship in 1831, 320, 321, and n. 12.
Articles, the Five, of Perth, 146 and n. 111; petitioned against, 149; petition refused, 150; condemned by Assembly in 1638, 170.
—— of Reformation submitted to Queen Regent, 58 and n. 18.
Ash Wednesday, Sarum Service for, 36 *et seq.*; administration of Ashes in, 37 and n. 67; blessing of traced through Sarum Missal, English Prayer-Book, and Scottish Euchologion, 38 *et seq.*
Assembly, General, of 1562, Act anent Book of Geneva, 103; of 1564 anent Book of Common Order, 104; of 1601 at Burntisland, 140 and n. 99; of 1616 at Aberdeen, 143 *et seq.*; of 1617 at Perth, 145; of 1638 at Glasgow, 170 and n. 1; of 1639 short Act of anent Novations, 256, 257; of 1641 letter to from English Ministers, 173 and n. 6; authority given by to draw up Directory, 174; prohibited Novations, 257; of 1642 letter to from England, 174 *et seq.*; of 1643 Conference at regarding Novations, 178, 179; of 1645 authorised Directory, 190; of 1652 three Acts on grounds of salvation and rules of discipline, 224; of 1653 silenced by Cromwell, 223; of 1690, 244 *et seq.*; of 1694 anent a Commission and Lecturing, 255, 256; of 1697 passed the Barrier Act, 256, 257; of 1705 observance of Directory, 275; of 1706 Act and Recommendation concerning Scripture Songs, 277 *et seq.*; of 1707 passed Act against Innovations, 259; and gave decision regarding Scripture Songs, 280; of 1713 recommendation of regarding teaching of psalm

tunes by Schoolmasters, 276; of 1746 recommendation that reading the line be discontinued in family worship, 276, 277; of 1741 overtured in favour of enlargement of metrical psalter, 281; of 1745 Act and Overture regarding Sacred Poetry, 282, 283; of 1751 recommended the new psalmody to be used in private families, 284; of 1775 overture to regarding Translations and Paraphrases, 284; of 1781 passed Interim Act anent the Psalmody, 285, 286; of 1866 tolerated instrumental music, 338.

——, Westminster, order concerning issued by English House of Commons in 1642, 175; Ordinance of English Parliament calling, 177; place of meeting, 177 n. 14; letters from to Ch. of Scot., 181; Answer to, 182; occupied for ten weeks with Thirty-nine Articles, 184 and n. 29; began in Nov. 1643 to deal with discipline and ritual, 184. See also Directory.

Association, Devotional Service, of U.P. Church, 349; issued 'Presbyterian Forms of Service,' 350; Public Worship, of Free Church, 351 *et seq.*

Australia, Presbyterian Church of, revision of Westminster Directory by, 438 *et seq.*

Ayr, dissatisfaction with town minister of in 1634, 165.

Ayrshire infected with the idolatry of the Mass, 128 and n. 73.

Baillie, R., Rev., upon Henderson's proposal for a Directory, 174; upon "Novations," 178; present at General Assembly of 1645 and describes it, 189, 190 and n. 40; trouble at Kilwinning about Doxology, 206 and n. 61; favours new metrical Psalter, 217; agrees to omission of Doxology in, 218.

Balcanquhall, Dean of Durham, writer of 'Larger Declaration,' 147 n. 113.

Baldred, St, Aberdeen Breviary Lections for, 45 *et seq.*

'Ballates, The Gude and Godlie,' Montrose Burial Hymn taken from, 380 *et seq.* See also Psalms.

Banchory - Devenick, extracts from Session Records of in 1708-1712, 250.

Band, Common, entered into by Scottish Reformers, 96.

Bannerman, Dr, Perth, 139, 176 n. 11, 221, 390.

Baptism, in Celtic Church, 16; in Hamilton's Catechism, 54 *et seq.*; in Herman's Consultation, 63 *et seq.*; in Book of Common Order, 109, 110; "after Papistical manner," 129; Order of in Frankfort Book of Common Order, 376; order of in E. P. Church draft revision of Westminster Directory, 436; in Presbyterian Churches of Australia and Tasmania, 439 *et seq.*

Barrier, see Act.

Bassandyne, T., 133 and n. 85, 135 *et seq.*, 385.

Bass Rock, see Baldred.

Bathgate, reader in, censured, 429.

Beath, Hill of, conventicle at, 236.

Beattie, J., Prof., his letter on improvement of Psalmody in Scotland, 312 and n. 2.

Bell, use of, in Celtic worship, 16; three ringings of, on Sabbath, 163 and n. 143.

Bible, proposed revision of A.V. in 1601, 140.

Bidding, see Prayer.

Bingham, J., his translation of Calvin's prayer of confession, 89 n. 87; wrong inference drawn by from Calvin's letter, 91 and n. 90, 422.

Bishops, twelve, how dealt with by Assembly in 1638, 171.

Blackader, J., Rev., 236, 238, 239, 240.

Blacklock, T., Rev., 291.

Black Rubric, see Kneeling.

Blair, H., Rev., 291, 312 and n. 2.

——, R., Rev., 291.

——, W., Rev. Dr, Biography and Selections from Leighton, 433.

Botrifnie, Schoolmaster of appointed reader, 433.

Bovet, M., his Histoire du Psautier des Eglises Reformées, 139 and n. 97.

Boyd, Dr, St Andrews, his use of 'Euchologion,' 345.

——, Zachary, 277.

Boys publicly catechised during Commonwealth, 225 and n. 103.

Brereton, W., Sir, his description of Scottish ritual in reign of Charles I., 163 *et seq.*

Breviary, Roman, 39, 40 and n. 72; Aberdeen, 40 *et seq.*; Cardinal Quignon's revised, 61.

Brown, P. H., 'Early Travellers in Scotland,' 165 n. 145.

Browning, Robert, closing lines of "Christmas Eve" with reference to Conclusion, 136 n. 89.

Burial, directions for in Book of Discipline, 130; in Book of Common

Order, 131 ; in Frankfort Draft, 376, 377 ; form and manner of in Kirk of Montrose, 130 *et seq.*, 379 *et seq.*; Order for in E. P. Ch. draft revision of Westminster Directory, 437 ; in Presbyterian Churches of Australia and Tasmania, 440.
Burntisland, Assembly of 1601 met in, 140 and n. 99.
Burton, J. H., Dr, estimate of Henderson's 'Government and Order,' 166 n. 146.

Cairntable, Covenanting gathering at, 237.
Calderwood, D., use of term Liturgy, 105 ; member of Committee to draft a Scottish Directory, 180 ; gave trouble in Assembly of 1645, 190 n. 41 ; his 'Altare Damascenum,' 194, 195 n. 46 ; opposed Morton's nocent Ceremonies, 207, 208 n. 64 ; plea for use of Doxology, 211 and n. 71, 72.
Calendar, early form of Church Directory, 29 ; of Drummond Missal, *ib.*; the Herdmanston, 30 ; the Culross, *ib.*; an unnamed Celtic, 31.
Calvin, J., opinion of English Prayer-Book, 82, 83, 94 ; character of by English Statesman, 87 ; his Order of Geneva, 88 *et seq.*; his letter to Regent Seymour, 91 *et seq.*; to Edward VI., 93 *et seq.*; advice to Frankfort exiles, 94.
Calvinism, tribute to value of, by Mark Pattison, 95.
Cambridge, University of, Bidding Form of Prayer still practised in, 427.
Campbell, G., Rev., of Dumfries, 231, 232 and n. 116.
Candlish, R. S., Dr, upon instrumental music, 317 n. 6.
Canons, Ecclesiastical, and Constitutions, published in 1636, 151 ; contents of bearing upon public worship, 152 *et seq.*; how received in Scotland, 154 ; condemned in 1638 by Assembly, 170 *et seq.*
Carlyle, A., Rev., of Inveresk, 291.
——, T., estimate of John Knox, 68 ; upon the Scots and Charles II., 222.
Carstares, W., Principal, influence of upon the Union, 265 and n. 42 ; advice to by Pringle regarding Toleration, 275.
Carswell, J., Bishop, his translation of Book of Common Order into Gaelic, 125 *et seq.*; prayer from before Sermon, 378.
Catechism, Hamilton's, object of, 52 ; contents of, 53 ; reprints of, 53 n. 13 ; Order of Baptism in, 54 *et seq.*; extracts from, 368 *et seq.*; in Frankfort Book of Common Order, 377.
Cecil, W., Sir, letter to English Ambassador at Paris, 98.
Celtic, see Calendar, Worship.
Ceremonies, the nocent, 164 *et seq.*, 207 and n. 62.
Chanting favoured by Prof. Beattie, 313.
Charles I., accession of, 149 ; summoned Long Parliament, 172.
—— II., Coronation of in Scotland, 222 ; state of matters in Scotland during reign of, 225 ; alters Scottish Church government, 227.
Charteris, H., 136 and n. 90.
Christmas, observance of condemned in Book of Discipline, 108 ; meeting of General Assembly on, 129 ; observance of condemned in Appendix to Directory, 210 n. 69.
Church, Established, of Scotland, state of at close of eighteenth century, 310 ; no instrumental music in till nineteenth century, 337 ; and no formal sanction of at any time, 338 ; movement in direction of enlarged psalmody and hymnody, 331 *et seq.* ; liberty granted by to use instrumental music, 338 ; Church Service Society among ministers and laymen, 341 *et seq.*
——, Free, of Scotland, question of Hymns raised and discussed, 334, 335 ; decision come to, 336 ; action regarding instrumental music, 339 ; decision come to, 340 and n. 48 ; formation of Public Worship Association, 351, 352.
——, Presbyterian, of Australia, revision of Westminster Directory by, 438 *et seq.*
——, Presbyterian, of England, revision of Westminster Directory by, 435 *et seq.*
——, Presbyterian, of Tasmania, revision of Westminster Directory by, 438 *et seq.*
——, United Presbyterian, of Scotland, furnished its congregations with Hymn Book, 334 ; the 'Presbyterian Hymnal' of, 334 ; formation of Devotional Service Association in, 349.
Churches, Scottish, Dedication of in thirteenth century, 47, 48 and n. 88, 364, 365.
Claim of Right, the, presented to William of Orange, 243.

Clarendon, Lord, admission regarding Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical, 153 n. 127.
Cobroune or Cockburn, W., Rev., of Kirkmichael, 207 n. 62.
Collects, Scottish, on the Psalms, 138 *et seq.*, 390 *et seq.*
Columba, 7, 8, 12, 17, 43.
Commandments, Ten, metrical rendering of by Whittingham, 120.
Communion, disorder in connection with at Edinburgh, 151; Scottish Service for administering to sick, 361, 362; order of in Frankfort Book of Common Order, 376. See also Supper.
Confession of Faith, First Scottish in 1560, 100 *et seq.*; Westminster, ratified and established by First Parliament of William, 244; Witherspoon upon treatment of by Moderates, 293; statements in bearing upon public worship, 357, 358.
Consecration Prayer in Anglican and Scotch Communion Offices, 442 *et seq.*
Constitutions, apostolical, specimen of Bidding Prayer from, 423.
Conventicle, midnight, description of by Grahame, 237.
Cotterel, Lt.-Col., 223 and n. 100.
Councils, Provincial, from 1225 till 1559, 50; proceedings of in 1549, 50; in 1551, 51; in 1558, 58 *et seq.*; in 1559, 60.
Counties, Scottish, Twelve, Churches of dedicated, 365 *et seq.*
Covenant, Solemn League and, taken at Westminster, 183 and n. 28.
Covenanters, the, their open-air services, 235; included lecturing or prefacing, 236; also praise, 237; and administration of Sacraments, 238; description of their Communion, 239, 240.
Cowper, W., Bishop of Galloway, his character and career, 162 and n. 142; his 'Seven Dayes Conference,' 162 *et seq.*
Cox, R., Dr, 84, 87 and n. 81.
Craig, J., author of second versions in Psalter, 221.
Cromwell, Oliver, his Protectorate in Scotland, 222.
Cudberct or Cuthbert, St, of Irish extraction, 10; appointed Prior of Melrose, 10; elected Bishop of Lindisfarne, 11.
Cude, 57 and n. 16.
Culdees, etymology of word, 18 and n. 35; controversy in Scotland regarding, 19 and n. 36; of St Andrews, 19 *et seq.*; of Lochleven, 20; of Dunkeld, see Litany.
Cuming, P., Rev., 290.
Cunningham, W., Principal, estimate of Dr John Erskine, 295.
Currie, J., Rev., 295 and n. 94, 296.

Dalkeith, burial service at according to English Ritual, 235.
David de Bernham, extracts from his Pontifical, 364, 365. See also Dedication.
Days, distinction between, in Celtic worship, 15.
Deacons, Reformation Order for Election of, 102.
'Declaration, A Large,' 147 n. 113.
—— on Kneeling, see Kneeling.
Dedication of Parish Churches and Chapels in fifteenth century, 47 *et seq.*, 364, 365.
Deer, Book of, 12 and n. 17, 361, 362.
De Foe, D., 266 n. 43, 273 and n. 54.
Dick, G., bookseller in Edinburgh, 147.
Dickson, D., Rev., suspected of innovating, 178; one of a committee to compile a Scottish Directory, 180.
Dickson, J., Rev., a Covenanting preacher, 236.
Directory, a, desire for expressed by Henderson, 172 and n. 5; also by General Assembly, 174; motion by Henderson for drawing up, 174; proposal favoured by English ministers, 174 *et seq.*; Henderson abandons attempt to draw up one, and reasons for this, 176; a purely Scottish never compiled, 180 and n. 21; General Assembly nominates commissioners to assist in preparation of, 182, 183; preparation of carried on in committee at Westminster, 185 *et seq.* and n. 33; Rutherfurd moves in Westminster Assembly for speeding of, 185; English Parliament repeatedly calls for, 187; Parliament Ordinance establishing, 187; revision of in Scotland, 188 and n. 38; title and description of by Westminster Divines, 189; authorised by General Assembly, 190; qualifying statement in Act, 191; approval of by Scottish Parliament, 192; remitted to a Committee of Assembly for judgment on details, 192 and n. 44; sanctioned by Committee of Estates and Commission of Assembly, 193; first issue of in Scotland, 193 and n.

45; title of, 194; preface, 195 *et seq.*; analysis of contents, 197 *et seq.*; no mention of doxologies in, 208; nor of ministers' private devotions in pulpit, 208; no place in Revolution Settlement, 245; observance of recommended by General Assembly in 1705, 275 and n. 59; Presbyterian ministers of eighteenth century charged with departing from, 311, 312; no attempt at revising made in Scotland, 435; draft revision of by E. P. Church, 435 *et seq.*; also by federated Churches of Australia and Tasmania, 438 *et seq.*

Discipline, Book of, First, 101 *et seq.*

Dismission, music for in Dr A. Thomson's 'Sacred Harmony,' 319.

Dissenters, Scottish Episcopalian, treatment of in eighteenth century, 275.

Douglas, J. M., joint author of 'Liturgical Proposals,' &c., 435.

Doxology, one form of, in 1575, Book of Common Order, 135; called a "conclusion," or the *Gloria Patri*, 135; thirty-two forms of in 1595 Book of Common Order, 136 and n. 91; evidence that used in Reformation Scotland prior to 1575, 137; in Wedderburn's Psalms and Songs, 137, 138; three forms in Psalter of 1635, 161; attitude toward by Westminster Divines, 205; yeomen at Kilwinning refuse to sing, 206; mention of in Gillespie's writings, 209; discussion regarding in General Assembly of 1645, 211; heard in parish church of Dunbar in 1661, 212; forms of in Simson's 'Spiritual Songs,' 214; form of in 1781 edition of the Paraphrases and Hymns, 214; sung in Old Aberdeen for disturbance, 249; music for provided by Dr A. Thomson and R. A. Smith, 319; the thirty-two in Psalter of 1595, 386 *et seq.*

Druidism, in Scotland, 3 n. 12; views regarding of Stewart, Burton, Skene, and Rhys, 3 *et seq.*

Dumfries, a Sunday spent in by Ray, 231; rabbling of Episcopal clergymen in, 249.

Duncan, J., Dr, criticism of the Paraphrases, 287.

"Dundie Psalmes," see Psalms.

Dunkeld Litany, 21 *et seq.*; extracts from, 362, 363.

Dykes, T., Dr, of Ayr, opposed to weekly Communion, 347 n. 53.

Dysart, Hog, T., of, 147 and n. 115.

Easter Day, Communion to be celebrated upon in 1641 by royal proclamation, 143.

—— Sunday, Edinburgh Communion upon in 1627 and paucity of Communicants, 151.

Edersheim, A., Dr, on Sacramentarianism of Westminster Confession, 443.

Edgar, A., Dr, of Mauchline, 289 n. 83, 422.

Edinburgh, ministers in 1650 instituted a daily lecture, restored singing and catechising, 224.

Edward VI., First Prayer-Book of, 348 n. 54.

Edward, R., Rev., version of Calderwood's plea for the Doxology, 211 and n. 72; his work, 'The Doxology Approven,' 212, 213.

Elders, Reformation Order for Election of, 102.

Elphinstone, W., Bishop of Aberdeen, his labours and breviary, 40 *et seq.*

Embolismus, a Latin, in Scottish Service for Sick, 361 and n. 1.

Episcopacy, in Scotland, during reigns of James VI. and Charles I., 160; Henderson's judgment regarding, 169.

Episcopalians, Scottish, efforts to secure toleration under Queen Anne, 258, 259; treatment of as dissenters, 275; description of Presbyterian worship in eighteenth century, 311.

Erskine, J., Dr, of Edinburgh, 295.

Erskine, R., Rev., one of seven protestors against action of Commission in 1733, 295 n. 94; his verses upon "Smoking Spiritualised," 297, 298; his 'Gospel Canticles,' 'Sonnets,' and 'Scripture Songs,' 298 *et seq.*

Estates, of the Kingdom, meeting of in 1560, 99.

Eucharist, the, in Celtic worship, 16.

Euchologion, or Book of Prayers, issued by Church Service Society, 347, 348 and n. 54.

Excommunication, Order of, 122.

Exhorters and Readers, not tied to printed prayers, 115 n. 46; chronological notes on office of in Scottish Presbyterian Worship, 428 *et seq.*

Faith, see Confession.

Fasting, Order and Doctrine of, 122.

Feasts, or Festival Days, condemned in Book of Discipline, 108.

Fergusson, J., Sir, upon public prayers, 345.

Fifeshire, and the Mass, 128 and n. 73.

Form, of prayers, used in English Church at Geneva, 87 *et seq.* See also Superintendent.
Frankfort-on-the-Main, resort of Marian exiles, 78; troubles at, 84 *et seq.*; Service-book for Flemish weavers at, 80 and n. 67; draft of Book of Common Order or Liturgy of Compromise, 373 *et seq.*
Frazer, J. G., 'The Golden Bough,' 4 n. 2.
Freeman, P., Rev., 'Principles of Divine Service,' 354 n. 61.
Fullarton, or Fullerton, W., Rev., of St Quivox, 207 n. 62.

Gaelic Bibles, &c., distribution of in Highlands, 248 and n. 16.
Galloway, and the Mass, 128 and n. 73.
Geneva, Book of, 87 and n. 83; metrical pieces in various editions of, 120. See Assembly, Calvin, Order.
Gib, A., Rev., 301 and n. 102.
Gibb, J. S., Mr, 159 n. 140.
Gillespie, G., Rev., Commissioner to Westminster Assembly, 183 n. 27; at General Assembly in 1645, 189; drew up Act authorising Directory, 190 and n. 41.
Glasgow, Cathedral of, 9; "Glesgu," original form of name and meaning of, 9 and n. 13, 259.
Gordon, J., parson of Rothiemay, 156 and n. 136, 252, 253, 254 and n. 26.
Goudy, A. P., Dr, 93.
Goulburn, 443.
Graham, J., Earl of Montrose, 220 n. 92.
Greenshields, J., Rev., case of, 265 *et seq.*; considerations bearing upon case, 271 *et seq.*
Greyfriars, Old Edinburgh, case of, 327, 328 and n. 2, 329, 330.

Hall, J., Bishop, 91 and n. 90.
——, P., Rev., 180 n. 21.
Hamilton, J., Archbishop, his Catechism, 53 *et seq.*; prayers from the same, 368 *et seq.*
Harmonium, introduction of into Old Greyfriars, 326.
Hart, 141.
Hawick, visit to, by Rowland Hill, 235.
Henderson, A., Rev., his 'Government and Order of the Church of Scotland,' 165 *et seq.*; pronounced sentence upon Prelates in Assembly of 1638, 171; paper written by in 1640 expressing wish for Directory, 172 and n. 5; moved in General Assembly of 1641 for one, 174; abandoned idea of a purely Scottish one, 176 and n. 11; one of a Committee of three appointed in 1643 to compile one, 180 and n. 20, 21; commissioner to Westminster Assembly, 183 and n. 27; title of "Directory" traced to him, 194; his "Prefaces" before Prayer, 198 n. 48.
Henderson, P., Reader in the High Church of Edinburgh, 432, 433.
Henrysone, H., Rev., minister at Dumfries, 232 n. 116.
Hermann, Archbishop, his measures of reform, 62 and n. 27, 28, 29; his 'Consultations,' 62; his baptismal service, 63 *et seq.*; his after history, 66.
Highlands, prayer for use in before sermon, 378. See also Gaelic.
Hill, R., Rev., remarks upon Scottish burials, 235.
Hog, T., Rev., 147 and n. 115.
Holland, J., 'Psalmists of Britain,' 215 n. 79, 216 n. 80, 221.
Holy days, keeping of condemned in Appendix to Directory, 210 n. 69.
Home, J., Rev., 291.
Hooker, R., Rev., on the Doxology, 135 n. 89.
Howatt, P., Rev., his 'Form of Prayer,' 145 and n. 109.
Huguenots, Church of the, relation between and Church of Scotland, 140.
Hume, Earl of, in Covenanting times, 239 and n. 130.
Hutchesone, G., Rev., of Colmonell, 207 n. 62.
Hymns, Columba's Book of, 15 and n. 20; the hymn in Montrose Burial Service, 132 and n. 83; the five hymns subjoined to Paraphrases of 1781, 287, 288; exclusion of from public worship by Original Seceders, 304, 305 and n. 111; opinion of Dr R. Lee regarding, 330, 331; Church of Scotland movement in direction of, 331 and n. 33, 34, 35; Church of Scotland collection of in 1860, 331, 332 and n. 36; authoritative use of in Church of Scotland dates from 1861, 332; United Secession Book of, 333; United Presbyterian Church action with reference to, 334; question of using raised in Free Church, 334, 335; use of allowed by Assembly of 1872, 336; burial hymns in German, Scotch,

and English, 380 *et seq.*; singing of a hymn at burial, provision for in English Presbyterian Church draft revision of Westminster Directory and in Presbyterian Churches of Australia and Tasmania, 440.

Images, setting up of, in Chapel Royal by James VI., 145 n. 110.
Independents, English, introduced ritual innovations into Scotland, 178.
Innerpeffray, Library at, 139.
Innes, T., Father, 34.
——, A. T., on Barrier Act, 257.
Innovations, meetings regarding, in 1641 and 1643, 178, 205, 259, 328, 329.
Inverkeithny, discipline at in 1643, 433.
Ireland, emigrants from introduce ritual innovations, 178, 179.

James, Apostle, the Liturgy of, specimen of Bidding Prayer in, 423.
James VI., baptism of, 129 and n. 79; accession to English throne in 1603, 140; declared absolute Head, 142; revived prelatic order, 142; attempted interference with Scottish ritual, 142 *et seq.*; ecclesiastical doings in Scotland, 145 and n. 110.
—— VII., state of Scotland during reign of, 225; described in Claim of Right, 243.
Juxon, Bishop of London, 155.

Keith, W., his rendering of 100th Psalm, 221.
Kilwinning, 206.
Kinkell, Covenanting service at, 236.
Kirkcaldy, W., of Grange, extract from letter, 98.
Kirkoswald, parishioners of and the Mass, 128 and n. 77.
Kneeling, at Communion enjoined in Edward VI. First Prayer-Book, 71; sitting substituted for by Knox, 71 *et seq.*; the 'Declaration on Kneeling,' 74 n. 56 *et seq.*; declaration dropped in 1559 but restored in 1662, 77 n. 61; kneeling posture at Communion in Chapel Royal, 145 n. 110; enjoined by first of Five Articles of Perth, 146 and n. 111, 150; evidence that practised in Scotland during public worship, 150; of ministers in pulpit objected to by seven south-west of Scotland ministers, 207; no reference to in Directory, 208; General Assembly recommend it be laid aside, 210; reasons for this, 211; kneeling at a return to old usage, 337 and n. 43.
Knox, J., appearance before convention in St Andrews, 69 *et seq.*; administration of Lord's Supper in Castle of, 70; arrived in London, 68; ministry in Berwick-upon-Tweed, 68, 69, 70 and n. 49; departure from practice of kneeling at Communion, 71; ministry at Newcastle, 71 *et seq.*; appointment as King's Chaplain, 72; preaches at Windsor against kneeling, 72; share in Memorial to Privy Council, 73; and in Declaration on kneeling, 77; call to Frankfort, 82; refusal to use Order of Geneva, 82; judgment regarding English Prayer-Book, 85 and n. 79; connection with Frankfort Book of Common Order, 86; return to Geneva and formation of English congregation, 87; communication with Protestants in Scotland, 96; expressions "Knox's Psalms," "Knox's Liturgy," incorrect and misleading, 105; quotation from his 'Historie' in Preface to Laud's Liturgy, 159 and n. 140; earliest edition of his work, 159 and n. 140.

Laidlaw, J., Prof., of Edinburgh, on Communion Doctrine of Westminster Divines, 443.
Lambert, General, 223.
Laud, W., Archbishop, preparation of his liturgy, 154 *et seq.*; mainly responsible for the service-book of 1637, 155 and n. 133; no attempt to bring in the book at Restoration, 228 and n. 110; prayer of consecration in his Book of Common Prayer, 442.
Layman, Indian, proposal by to revolutionise Presbyterian Worship, 353 n. 60.
League, Solemn, see Covenant.
Lee, R., Dr, of Edinburgh, extracts from Session Records of Banchory-Devenick, 250 *et seq.*; qualifications for work of reformer, 324; defects, 325; beginning of attempts to reform, 326; his 'Prayers for Public Worship,' 326 and n. 23; introduces instrumental music, 326, 327; his work upon Reform in Worship, 327; his case before the General Assembly in 1859, 327; and in 1864, 328; and in 1865, 328, 329; his Presbytery authorised by Assembly in 1866 to

deal with him, 329; case once more before Assembly in 1867, 330; illness and death, *ib.*; views upon enlarged psalmody conservative, 331.
Leighton, R., Bishop, charge to Synod of Dunkeld, 230, 231 and n. 115.
Leishman, T., Dr, 337 n. 43 and 44, 340 n. 49, 349, 434, 435, 441 n. 1.
Leitch, D., Prof., 277.
Lekpreuik, R., Edinburgh printer, 104 n. 22, 125.
Line, reading of in worship, provision for in Directory, 204; objected to by Alexander Henderson, 204 and n. 59; subsequent history of the usage, 205 and n. 60; practice of condemned by Prof. Beattie, 314.
Litany, Culdee, of Dunkeld, 21 *et seq.*; one provided by Church Service Society, 348 n. 54; extracts from Latin used by Dunkeld Culdees, 362, 363.
Liturgy, Latin, of Pollanus, 79 and n. 67; of compromise at Frankfort, 83 and n. 75, 76; Knox's so-called, 105 *et seq.*; restricted and popular use of term, 106; remarks on use of term in Scotland by J. H. Burton, 144 n. 108; the Liturgy of 1637, 156; royal proclamation prefixed to, 157 and n. 139; preface to, 158 *et seq.*; condemned by Assembly of 1638, 170 *et seq.*; a partial and permissive pleaded for in Church Service Society, 347 and n. 53; desirableness of an optional, a point for conference and discussion in programme of Free Church Public Worship Association, 352; plea for a presbyterian by Prof. J. Lorimer, 354; analysis of the Frankfort, 373 *et seq.*; specimen of Bidding Prayer from Liturgy of Apostle James, 423.
Livingston, N., Dr, his 'Scottish Metrical Psalter of 1635,' 119 n. 56, 122 n. 60, 137 n. 92.
Lochleven, see Culdees.
Lockhart, G., of Carnwath, promoter of Toleration Bill, 273 and n. 55.
Logan, J., Rev., of Leith, hymn attributed to him, 288; introduction of Paraphrases into Leith, 289; one of the Moderate party, 291.
Lorimer, J., Prof., 'A National Church demands a National Liturgy,' 354 n. 60.
Lorimer, P., Rev., of London, his 'John Knox and the Church of England,' 70 n. 49; 75 n. 58; 76, 373, 374.
Lothian, East, and the Mass, 128 and n. 73.
Lowrie, R., Rev., of Edinburgh, 277.
Lyra Germanica, 132, 380, 381, 383, 384.

Macbray, J., 79.
Maclaurin, J., Rev., 295.
Macphail, S. R., Rev., 180 n. 21.
Mair, T., Rev., 295 and n. 94.
Maitland, J., Lord, Commissioner to Westminster Assembly, 183 and n. 27.
Margaret, Queen, a devotee of Rome, 24; personal character, 25 and n. 42; character of her piety, 25; her deathbed, 26 *et seq.*; her conferences with Celtic clergy, 27 *et seq.*
Marlorat, A. M., author of prayers on the Psalms, 139 and n. 96.
Marriage, Order of in Frankfort Book of Common Order, 376; in E. P. Church draft revision of Westminster Directory, 437; in Presbyterian Churches of Australia and Tasmania, 440.
Marshall, S., 185 and n. 32, 186.
Martin, S., Dr, of Monimail, 290.
Mary, Queen, see William.
Mary, Virgin, cult of in Church calendars, 31 *et seq.*; *ora pro nobis* in Culdee Litany, 22, 363; festivals of condemned in Book of Discipline, 108.
Mass, priest hanged in 1574 for saying, 129 and n. 78.
Masson, D., Prof., 152 n. 125.
Mauchline, introduction of Paraphrases into, 289 n. 83.
Maundy-days, or Mendedays, 425 and n. 2.
Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, 154 and n. 130.
Maxwell, G., Rev., of Dundonald, 207 n. 62.
Maybole, parishioners of, favouring the Mass, 128 and n. 77.
M'Claren, J., Rev., 295 and n. 94.
M'Crie, T., Dr, sen., narrative of Frankfort troubles, 87 n. 81; on forms of prayer in Scotland at the Reformation, 98 n. 4; intention of Reformers regarding prayers, 115; Readers and Exhorters not restricted to read prayers, 115 n. 4; editions of Knox's History, 160 n. 140; exposed Sir Walter Scott's blunders, 228 n. 109; wrote historical part of Original Secession Testimony, 304 n. 109; upon office of Reader, 434.

M'Lauchlan, T., Dr, edited reprint of Carswell's Gaelic translation of Book of Common Order, 126 and n. 71, 378.
M'Leod, J., Dr, of Govan, plea of for comprehensive ritual and weekly Communion, 347 n. 53, 354 n. 61.
Melrose, originally Mailros, 10.
Melville, J., Rev., of Kilrenny, his metrical rendering of Song of Moses, 142 and n. 103.
Melville, Lord, and the Revolution settlement, 246.
Missal, medieval, rise and development of, 32 *et seq.*; Scotch name for, 33; the Sarum, 33 *et seq.*; Sarum used in Scotland before reign of Edward I., 34; complex contents of, 36.
Mitchell, A. F., Dr, of St Andrews, 199 n. 51, 374.
Moderation, practice of inculcated at Revolution, 246, 247; watchword of Moderates, 291.
Moderatism, development of in eighteenth century, 291.
Monasticism, dominated the worship in pre-Reformation Scotland, 11.
Moncreiff, H., Sir, motion regarding instrumental worship in Free Church Assembly of 1883, 340 n. 48. See Wellwood.
Montrose, form and manner of burial in kirk of, 130 *et seq.*, 259, 379 *et seq.*
Morer, T., Rev., his 'Short Account of Scotland,' 232 and n. 118 *et seq.*
Morton, Bishop, his "Defence of the Three Nocent Ceremonies," 207.
Moses, Song of, metrical rendering of, 141 *et seq.*
Mowat, M., Rev., of Kilmarnock, 207 n. 62.
Mure, W., Sir, of Rowallane, his metrical version of the Psalms, 217 and n. 84.
Music, instrumental, opinion regarding of Professor Beattie, 314, 315; attempted introduction of in Aberdeen and Glasgow, 315 and n. 5; discussion and decision regarding in Glasgow Presbytery, 316; unknown in Church of Scotland at and for long after the Reformation, 337 and n. 44; decision of United Presbyterian Church regarding, 338, 339; action of Free Church regarding, 339 and n. 46, 47; finding of anent, 340.

Nairn, T., Rev., 295 and n. 94.
Neale, J. M., Rev., on the "Received Office" of the Scottish Episcopalian Church, 442.
Neve, or Nevay, J., Rev., 207 n. 62.
Newbattle, appointment of Reader at in 1641, 433.
Newbigging, T., Rev., 363 n. 1.
Ninian, St, description of by Bede, 5, 6, 7, 12.
Nisbet, East, Covenanting communion at, 238 *et seq.*
Nithsdale, and the Mass, 128 and n. 73.
Novations, see Innovations.
Nye, P., Rev., 186 and n. 34.

"Occasions," 311.
Order, of Geneva, 102; earliest Scottish edition of, 103; Common, Book of, 102, 103, 106, 107, 108; Edinb. edition of in 1564, 119; translated into Gaelic, 125; edition of 1575, 135 and n. 88; of 1595, 136 and n. 91; of 1615, 141; reissues of in beginning of seventeenth century, *ib.*; revision of in 1616, 144; revision of by orders of James VI., 146 *et seq.*; Book of published by Church Service Society, 348; contents of fifth edition, 348 n. 54; summary of Frankfort Book of Common Order, 373 *et seq.* See also Elders, Excommunication, Fasting, Repentance, Superintendent.
Organ, in reign of James VI., 145 n. 110; introduced into St Andrew's Church, Glasgow, 315 *et seq.*; into Old Greyfriars', Edinburgh, 327 and n. 24. See also Music, Instrumental.
Orkney Islands, standing at praise prevalent from Reformation, 337 n. 43.
Orr, R., 238.
Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, 34.
Oxford, University of, Bidding form of prayer still used in, 426 *et seq.*

Palmer, H., 186.
Paraphrases, first edition of Scottish, 283 and n. 74; edition of 1781, 285, 286; exclusion of from public worship by Original Seceders, 304, 305 and n. 111. See also Duncan, Logan, Martin.
Parishes, Scottish, in which Churches dedicated, 365 *et seq.*
Parliament, Long, the, 172; Scottish of 1661, 229; of William and Mary, 244.
Paterson, J., of Aberdeen, last reader in Scotland, 434.
Pattison, M., Rev., on Calvinism, 95.
Perry, T. W., Rev., his work on 'The

Declaration on Kneeling,' 74 n. 56, 75 n. 58, 76 n. 59.
Perth, see Articles, Assembly.
'Phenix,' the, 120 and n. 58.
Picts, the, 7, 8.
Pirie, Professor, at Aberdeen, 328, 329.
Pollanus, Valerandus, 78 and n. 63.
Pont, R., Rev., 141.
Pontificale, the, extracts from, 364, 365. See also Dedication.
Porteous, W., Dr, of Glasgow, opposed instrumental music, 317.
Praise, congregational and vernacular provided for in Hermann's 'Consultation,' 65 *et seq.*; regarded by Scottish reformers as subordinate, 107; provided for by them, 115 *et seq.*; in Book of Common Order, 117, 118; in Order of Excommunication, 124; sitting or standing at, 337 n. 43.
Prayer, forms of, in Scotland at Reformation, 97 *et seq.*; silent, provision for in 'The Order of the General Fast,' 124; Church of England in order for burial used at Montrose in sixteenth century, 131 and n. 83; collection of Scottish prayers on Psalms, 138 *et seq.*, 390 *et seq.*; Howatt's form of, 145 and n. 109; Bidding Prayers, 152 and n. 126; printed prayer for Highlands, 378; for Scottish burial, 379, 380; Bidding, history and specimens of, 422 *et seq.*
—— Book, Church of England, First of Edward VI., 68 and n. 42; Second do., modified use of by British exiles at Frankfort, 81; attempt to introduce versicles form at Frankfort, 86; Protestants of Scotland agreed to use, 97; introduction of as charity books into Scotland, 250; use of in Scotland after passing of Toleration Bill, 251; burial prayer from Second of Edward VI., 379, 380; office for Lord's Supper in First of Edward VI., 441, 442.
——, Lord's, the, use of recommended in Westminster Directory, 200; used by P. Simson at communion, 275 n. 59; comparative disuse of in eighteenth century, 310, 311; Dr T. Arnold upon use of in Scotland, 321; Dr A. Thomson's views regarding public use of, 321, 322; eight Scottish prayers founded upon, 368 *et seq.*
Prayers, the common, mentioned in Book of Discipline, 102; in Book of Common Order, 112; distinguishing feature of, 113; in 'Order and Doctrine of the General Fast,' 123 and n. 65; in 'Order of Excommunication,' 124; proposed revision of in 1601, 140, 141; in Westminster Directory, 198 *et seq.*; Book of, published by Church Service Society, 347; one hundred and forty-nine Scottish, 390 *et seq.*
—— for the departed, in early Bidding prayers and in Primers, 426 and n. 1; when gave place to praises, 426 and n. 1.
Preaching, considered necessary to a Church by Reformers, 107; lay, in Scotland during Commonwealth, 222, 223.
Precentor, or "Taker up of the Psalms," 431; one appointed in Glasgow High Kirk, 431, 433.
Prefacing, 198 n. 48.
Prelacy, abolition of petitioned for at Revolution, 242; abolished by first Parliament of William and Mary, 244.
Presbyterianism, essentially a form of government, 1; also a theology and a ritual, 2. See also Worship.
Priest hanged in 1574 for saying Mass, 129 and n. 78.
Primers, English, at Reformation, 67; Marshall's, 67 and n. 38; Hilsey's, 67 and n. 40; King Henry's or Cranmer's, 67 and n. 41; 348 n. 1 on n. 54.
Pringle, R., on Episcopalian dissenters, 275.
Psalm, 23d, metrical renderings of, 116, 117.
——, 100th, metrical renderings of, 221.
——, 103d, metrical renderings of, 117.
——, 124th, metrical renderings of, 221.
Psalmody, metrical, movements for enlargement of, 277, 281, 312.
Psalms, second versions of, by Craig, 221.
——, The Compendious Book of, and Spiritual Songs, 116, 132, 134.
——, version, metrical, proposed revision of in 1601, 140.
Psalter, see Version.
Purgatory, mention and explanation of, in Hamilton's Catechism, 53.

Quignon, Cardinal, his revised Breviary, 61.

Raban, E., Aberdeen printer, 141, 151.
Rainy, R., Principal, tribute to the Seceders, 308, 309; motion regarding instrumental music, 340 and n. 48.
Rankin, J., Dr, of Muthill, 332 n. 38.
Ray, J., the naturalist, 212, 231, 232.
Readers, not tied to the prayers in Book of Common Order, 115 n. 46; employment of discussed in Westminster Assembly, 201, 202 and n. 56; services of reintroduced into Leith Church, 225 n. 105; services of provided for at Restoration, 230; chronological notes on office of in Scottish Presbyterian worship, 428 *et seq.*
Reading the line, 204, 205.
Reconciliation of a building, 47 and n. 85.
Renwick, J., 237 and n. 126.
Repentance, public, order of, 122.
Revolution of 1688, what it brought, 140; parliamentary legislation of, 245.
Riccaltoun, R., Rev., 296 and n. 95.
Ring, the, in Anglican solemnisation of matrimony, 376 n. 1; in E. P. Church draft revision of Westminster Directory, 437.
Ritchie, W., Dr, of Glasgow, 315, 316, 317 and n. 5.
Robertson, W., Principal, 290.
Robison, T., schoolmaster at Paisley, 129 n. 78.
Rome, Church of, teaching of, protest against in 1560, 99.
Rous, or Rouse, F., 215 n. 79, 216, 217.
Rutherfurd, S., brother of schoolmaster and reader in Kirkcudbright, 432; his 'Peacable and Temperate Plea,' 448; his description of Scottish Communion, 448, 449; statement of in Letters "anent read prayers," 449, 450.

Sacraments, administration of necessary to a Church, 107; number of in Hamilton's Catechism and in Book of Common Order, 109; readers to abstain from administering, 429, 430, 431.
Sage, J., Bishop, his controversy with Anderson of Dumbarton, 97; description of Book of Common Order, 106; his assertions regarding Presbyterian disuse of Lord's Prayer, 323 and n. 16, 17.
Sanctuses, music for, provided by Dr A. Thomson and R. A. Smith, 319.
Sarum, Books of, in reign of James IV., 35. See Missal.
Schoolmasters, 276.
Scotland, a province of Roman empire, 4; Christianity in during Roman occupation, *ib.*; relapse of into barbarism, 7; statement regarding Church of by Anglican prelate, 264; movement in for enlarged psalmody, 331, 332. See also Churches, Collects, Counties, Parishes, Prayers.
Scott, W., Sir, 228 and n. 109.
Seceders, first, position of in relation to Church of Scotland, 296, 297; Antiburgher, testimony of regarding corruptions of public worship, 301; United Associate Synod of, permitted public use of Doxology and Lord's Prayer, 303; Original, testimony of, 304 and n. 109; they restrict praise to the Psalms, 304; rise of Relief Church of, 305; they always favourable to enlarged psalmody, *ib.*; recommendation of Synod, 306; extract from preface to Hymn-Book, 307.
Secession Church, nineteenth century action of with reference to Hymns, 332 *et seq.*; United Secession Church Hymn-Book, 333 and n. 39.
Servanus, or Serf, Aberdeen Breviary Lections upon, 43 *et seq.*; prayer for commemoration-day, 45.
Service, Divine, two resolutions regarding by Scottish Reformers, 97; Scottish, for Visitation and Communion of sick, 361, 362; provision for morning and evening in Frankfort Book of Common Order, 375; three Tables of, Book of Common Order, Westminster Directory, and E. P. Church, 438 *et seq.*
Shaftesbury, Lord, his 'Characteristics' and Witherspoon's 'Ecclesiastical Characteristics,' 292 and n. 86.
Ship, Gaelic form of blessing for, going to sea, 127.
Sick, Scottish Service for visitation of, 361, 362.
Simson, P., Rev., of Renfrew, his use of Lord's Prayer at Communion, 275 n. 59; his Collection of 'Scriptural Songs,' 278; information regarding, 278 n. 65; his six Doxologies, 279; his plea for enlarged psalmody, *ib.*; action of Church with reference to his 'Scriptural Songs,' 278 *et seq.*
Singing, see Praise.
Sitting posture, while singing, 314, 337 n. 43; that for communicating according to Westminster Directory, 448.

Smith, R. A., 319 and n. 9, 10.
Snodgrass, W., Dr, 346, 347.
Society, Church Service, the, formation of, 341 ; objects of, 342 *et seq.*; not identified with any party, 345 ; publication of Prayer-Book, 347 ; growth of, 348 and n. 5 ; continues to be a private Society, 349.
——, Ecclesiological, of Aberdeen, formation of, 350 ; objects of, 351 ; transactions of, 351 and n. 58.
——, Scottish Church, the, formation and constitution of, 450 *et seq.*
——, see also Association.
Song, Love, printed in Psalter by Bassandyne, 133 and n. 86, 134, 385.
Songs, Spiritual, in metrical psalter of 1635, 161 ; Scriptural, 277, 278.
Spalding, J., of Aberdeen, 156 and n. 135.
Spang, W., 174.
Spottiswoode, J., Archbishop of Glasgow, made Primate of all Scotland, 143 ; his *desiderata* of Church of Scotland, 143 and n. 105 ; altercation with Hog of Dysart, 147 and n. 115; share in preparation of Liturgy of 1637, 154.
Sprott, G. W., Dr, of North Berwick, attributes 'Government and Order of the Church of Scotland' to Alexander Henderson, 166 n. 146 ; upon Church Service Society, 346, 347 n. 53 ; upon 'Liturgy of Compromise' drawn up at Frankfort, 374 and n. 1.
Standing at praise, in Orkney Islands, 337 n. 43.
St Andrews, students at, in Covenanting times, 236 and n. 125. See Culdees.
St Andrew's Church, Glasgow, introduction of instrumental music into, 315.
Steel, R., Dr, of Sydney, 438.
Stewart, W., his "Sonnet to the Church of Scotland," and his career, 121, 122 and n. 60.
——, Rev. Mr, of Relief Church, his Selection of Hymns, 306.
Story, R. H., Dr, description of Church of Scotland in close of eighteenth century, 310 ; estimate of Dr R. Lee as liturgist and theologian, 325, 326 ; high appreciation of Dr Lee's work upon Reform in Worship, 327 ; judgment upon Old Greyfriars case, 330 ; upon inexpediency of Church Service Society providing a liturgical series of services, 347 n. 53.
Struthers, G., Dr, the Relief Church Hymn-Book, 306 and n. 114.
——, W., appointed Precentor in Glasgow High Kirk in 1587, 431.
Strype, John, inaccurate narrative of Frankfort troubles, 87 n. 81.
Students, Aberdeen, of 1694, disturb divine service by singing the Doxology, 249, 250 ; St Andrews in Covenanting times, 236 and n. 125 ; Glasgow in 1724, account of by Wodrow, 293 n. 89.
Sturrock, D. A., Rev., upon paraphrases and hymns, 305 n. 111.
Superintendents, Reformation, form and order of the election, 102.
Supper, Lord's, manner of in Book of Common Order, 110 *et seq.*; in Directory, 197, 203; Covenanting celebration of in open air, 239, 240 ; Episcopalian satire upon Presbyterian administration, 311; weekly celebration of, advocated by some members of Church Service Society, 347 and n. 53 ; believed by one of them to be the distinctive ordinance of Christian worship, 354 n. 61; order for in E. P. Church, draft revision of Westminster Directory, 437 ; in Presbyterian Churches of Australia and Tasmania, 440 ; doctrine of in Westminster Directory, Confession of Faith, and Larger Catechism, 441 *et seq.*; consecration prayer of in Anglican Prayer-Books, 442 ; frequency of celebration, 443 *et seq.*; place of partaking, 445 ; posture when receiving, 447 *et seq.*
Synod, Associate, the, recommended Ralph Erskine to make metrical renderings of Scripture Songs, 299 and n. 98.
Synods, Diocesan, injunctions of bearing upon Public Worship at Restoration, 229 *et seq.*

Tasmania, Presbyterian Church of, revision of Westminster Directory by, 438 *et seq.*
Tate, Zouch, 188 n. 38.
Tennyson, Lord, quotations from "Northern Farmer," 49.
Thomson, A., Dr, of St George's, Edinburgh, his character and qualities, 318 ; his musical labours and publications, 318 and n. 7, 8 ; his views regarding the Lord's Prayer in public worship, 321, 322 ; resented by Episcopalians, 323 ; services to Evangelicalism, 324.

"Thorough," policy of, 151.
Tobacco, smoking of, spiritualised, 297, 298.
Toleration Act, in 1712, 269; opposed by Church of Scotland, 269, 270 and n. 51, 52, 53.
Tory, P., Bishop, 'Life and Times of,' by Rev. J. M. Neale, 442.
Translations, metrical, see Paraphrases.
Tulloch, Principal, upon Church Service Society, 346.
Tunes, Psalm, Elgin, Dundee, Martyrs, 221 n. 93; Invocation, 319 n. 10; St George's, Edinburgh, 318 n. 8; Selma, 319 n. 10.
——, Schoolmasters to teach, 276.
"Twopenny Faith, The," 59 and n. 19.

Uniformity of Worship, the phrase traced back to 1693, 254.
Union of England and Scotland, 260 *et seq.*
Utenhovius, J., description of Knox's preaching in England, 72, 73 n. 53.

Vernor, J., sufferings of in Covenanting times, 238.
Version, Metrical, of Psalms, comparison between that in Book of Geneva and that in Book of Common Order, 119; that of 1575, new features in, 135; that of 1595, 136; of 1615, 141; of King James and Sir W. Alexander of Menstrie, 148 *et seq.* n. 116, 117, 118, 119; that of 1635, 161; new one wanted at Westminster period, 215; that of Rous, 215, 216, 217; a revised one favoured by Scottish Commissioners, 217; revision in Scotland, 218 and n. 89; revised edition sanctioned by Assembly Commission and Committee of Estates, 219, 220; first issue of in Scotland, 220 and n. 92; comparison between English and Scotch editions of Rous's version, 220, 221; estimate of the various versions by Prof. Beattie, 313.
Visitation of Sick, Scottish Service for, 13 *et seq.*, 361, 362; Frankfort Order for, 376.
Walker, J., Dr, 301 n. 102.
Wallace, R., Rev., of Moffat, description by Wodrow of a sermon by, 293 n. 89.
Wardlaw, J., Rev., of Dunfermline, 295 n. 94.
Warren, F. E., 361 n. 1, 362 n. 1.
Wedderburn, J. and R., 116. See also Ballates.
——, Bishop of Dunblane, 155.
Weiss, M., his 'Gesang zum Begrebnuss,' 381, 382.
*Weissen Damen*, Church of at Frankfort, 78.
"Welcum Fortoun," love-song, 133, 134, 385.
Wellwood, H. M., Sir, 295.
Welwood, J., Covenanting preacher, 237 n. 127.
Whittingham, W., 78 and n. 64, 79, 117, 120, 221.
William, H. Prince of Orange, 241 *et seq.*
Willison, J., Rev., of Dundee, 296.
Wilson, G., Rev., 295 and n. 94.
Winkworth, C., Miss, 132, 383, 384.
Winzet, N., 137 and n. 93.
Wishart, G., Clerk of Assembly, 290.
——, W., Principal, 290.
Witherspoon, J., Dr, career of, 291; opponent of Moderates, 292; his 'Ecclesiastical Characteristics,' 292 *et seq.*
Wodrow, R., the Historian, intercourse with Simson of Renfrew, 275 n. 59.
Worship, Presbyterian, distinctive principle of, 2; early in Scotland essentially monastic, 11; description of monastic, 15 *et seq.*; state of in Scotland towards close of eighteenth century, 310; distinction between what is fundamental and what is subordinate in, 353; not Sacramentarian, 354; statements in Westminster Confession bearing upon, 357, 358.
Wren, Dr, of Norwich, share in revision of Laud's Liturgy, 155.

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